FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E HUMANAS
UNIVERSIDADE NOVA DE LISBOA

N° Aluno 49337

Images of Portugal between Prestage's Lines: the Translations of Eça de Queirós'*O Suave Milagre, O Defunto*,'A Festa das Crianças' and 'Carta VIII- Ao Sr. E. Mollinet'

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Dissertação de Mestrado em
Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas
Especialização em Estudos Ingleses e Norte-Americanos
(Anglo-Portugueses)

Orientador:
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May, 2018

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Dissertação apresentada para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Linguas, Literaturas e Culturas, Especialização em Estudos Ingleses e Norte-Americanos (Anglo-Portugueses) realizada sob a orientação científica da Prof.ª Doutora Gabriela Gândara Terenas.

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Resumo

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Os Estudos Anglo-Portugueses são uma área disciplinar comparatista e multisciplinar, que, por esta razão, encontram grande parte da sua fundamentação teórica na Imagologia, a qual, por seu turno, se encontra associada à Tradução. De facto, a actividade tradutória não se reduz a um mero processo mecânico, nem uma simples transposição de uma obra de uma língua para a outra. A tradução promove (des)encontros culturais e (des)construção de imagens de um "Outro", podendo reforçar ou atenuar estereótipos nacionais. Neste contexto, o objectivo da presente dissertação é tentar desconstruir a imagem de Portugal veiculada pelas traduções de certas obras de Eça de Queirós levadas a cabo por Edgar Prestage. No início do século XX, as relações luso-britânicas encontravam-se marcadas por um clima de uma certa tensão entre os dois países. Não obstante, foi justamente nesta época que surgiram as traduções, do português para o inglês, de "O Suave Milagre", "O Defunto", "Carta VIII" e "Festa das Crianças". Prestage reescreveu estes textos, passando-os por um "filtro inglês" de modo a alcançar o seu propósito, o de construir uma imagem de um Portugal com pouca correspondência com a realidade. A análise das traduções, realizada no âmbito dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, mostra que aquelas foram usadas como ferramentas para forjar imagens de Portugal que corresponderiam decerto às expectativas do público leitor inglês.

Palavras-chave: Estudos Anglo-Portugueses,Imagologia,Tradução,Edgar Prestage, Eça de Queirós

Abstract

Images of Portugal between Prestage's Lines: the Translations of Eça de Queirós'*O Suave Milagre, O Defunto*,'A Festa das Crianças' and ' Carta VIII- Ao Sr. E. Mollinet'

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Anglo-Portuguese Studies isa comparative and multidisciplinary area, with theorical rootsin Imagology, which in its in turnis associated with Translation. In fact, the work of translation is neither a mechanical process nor a simple transposition of a text from one language to another. It promotes cultural encounters and the (de)construction of images of the 'Other', at the same time reinforcing or attenuating national stereotypes.In this context, the aim of this dissertation is to try to (de)construct the image of Portugal conveyed by Edgar Prestage's translations of certain works by Eça de Queirós. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Anglo-Portuguese alliance was characterised by a climate of tension between the two countries. It was against this backdrop thatthe translations from Portuguese to English of *O Suave Milagre*, O *Defunto*, "Carta VIII" and "Festa das Crianças"' appeared. Prestagere-wrote these texts, passing them through an 'English filter'to achieve his own ends. His goal was to construct a certain image of Portugal which had little correspondence to reality.The analysis of these translations – carried out within the area of Anglo-Portuguese Studies – shows how English translations of a Portuguese author have been used as tools to reinforce certain images of Portugal, which corresponded to the expectations of English readers.

Keywords: Anglo-Portuguese Studies,Imagology,Translation,Edgar Prestage, Eça de Queirós

Introduction

The present dissertation, which falls squarely within the field of Anglo-Portuguese Studies, focuses on the analysis of images of Portugal created through English translations of Portuguese works. In Anglo-Portuguese Studies, the literary, cultural and historical relationships between Portugal and Great Britain are approached from a multidisciplinary perspective, and frequently involve an analysis of the representation of the 'Other' (Portuguese or British) in different types of texts in which a certain projection of the 'Self' (British or Portuguese) is present. The theoretical support of the present work will be based on the interconnection between Imagology and Translation Studies.

One of the main issues raised in the study of national representations is the concept of 'Self'and 'Other'. The main feature of the 'Other' is the state of being different from the identity of a 'Self', linked to the image of the foreign and the 'unknown'. On the other hand, the 'Self' is dependent upon the culture in whichhe/she is situated. In every kind of text, images of the foreign 'Other' are created and defined in contrast with the 'Self'.

Translations, like any other written texts, create images which contribute towards the reinforcement or deconstruction of national stereotypes and the building of cultural identities. Hence, translations play an important role in Anglo-Portuguese Studies, and it is possible to understand the relationship between the two countries during a given period through the study of images of Portugal constructed by English translations of works by Portuguese authors.

From texts to paintings, everything is constructed through images. Each image bears a certain meaning and observers need to be able to interpret them. Translations also convey images, but their interpretation can be fraught with difficulties. The reader is confronted by several different meanings, those of the source text and the ones brought into existence by the translator. Translations are never 'neutral', they have a wide range of implicit meanings which the reader must be able to interpret. Whilst the 'source culture' emanates from every translation, an image of the 'target culture' is also conveyed.

At the beginning of the twentiethcentury Edgar Prestage (1869-1951) decided to translate some of the works of the Portuguese author Eça de Queirós (1845-1900).The two men were not only of different nationalities but also differed as individuals, with diverse values and contrasting ideas about life. Even so, Prestage decided to translate Eça's work. Why did he choose to translate him? What did he really want to say? What image of Portugal did he try to convey? The main aim of this dissertation is to try to answer these questions by analyzing Prestage's translations of Eça de Queirós's *O Defunto* (1895), *O Suave Milagre* (1898), "Carta VIII-Ao SR. E. Mollinet" (1900) and "A Festa das Crianças" (1909).

The first chapter, entitled "'A Fake Neutrality': the Relationship between Britain and Portugal at the beginning of the Twentieth Century", offers a brief overview of the political relations between Portugal and Britain during the period in which Prestage's translations were published. An attempt will be made to demonstrate that in the early twentieth century there was a latent climate of tension between the two countries, especially after the assassination of the King of Portugal and the proclamation of the Republic. The works of the English translator were set against a delicate political background. From the very beginning of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, Britain had always behaved in an ambivalent way towards 'little Portugal', whilst trying to retain as much control as possible over its smaller ally. In the early twentieth century, Portugal tried to distance herself from her ally by taking a different political path, but the Republicans were forced to realize, in the end, that they continued to depend on London in many different ways.

In the second chapter – "Stereotyping a Nation through Translation?" –the role of images in literature will be explored through the concept of Imagology linked to Translation Studies. With this as the point of departure, an analysis will be made of the way images of a 'source culture' are conveyed by a translation and how this process implies the (de)construction or reinforcement of national stereotypes.

The third chapter – "Prestage and Eça" – is divided into two subchapters. The first part – "Edgar Prestage, an English Lusophile" – will focus on the relationship between Prestage and Eça and the question of why Prestage decided to translate the Portuguese author. The second – "Edgar Prestage and his 'Love-Hate Relationship' with Eça de Queirós" – will focus on the link between Prestage and Portugal, on the one hand, and Eça with England, on the other. What was the opinion of Prestage about Portugal and of Eça about Britain? Did each each of them apply a kind of 'cultural filter' in their way of looking at the other country?

Eça de Queirós' relationship with Britain will be analysed through *Cartas de Inglaterra*, a collection of letters written during the Portuguese writer's stay in England. Prestage's relationship with Portugal will be explored through correspondence exchanged between the English author and Portuguese public figures such as Oliveira Martins and Batalha Reis.

Finally, in the fourth and last chapter, entitled "(Re)Inventing a Country? Images of the Portugal in Prestage's Translations of Eça de Queirós", an attempt will be made to reveal what kind of images of Portugal Prestage depicted and conveyed in his translations of *O Suave Milagre, O Defunto*, "A Festa das Crianças" and "Carta VIII- Ao Sr. E. Mollinet".

1. 'A Fake Neutrality': the Relationship between England and Portugal at the Beginning of the Twentith Century

All relationships have a power dynamic. In all of them – whether political or romantic – one side holds greater power and exercises control. Sometimes the power dynamic is more subtle, a steady ebb and flow of authority.

From the very beginnings of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, Britain always behaved in an ambivalent way towards 'little Portugal', revealing a kind of neutrality over Portugal's internal and colonial affairs and, at the same time, attempting to retain as much control as possible over its smaller ally.

Over the centuries, as the historian Tom Gallagher explains in his article "Anglo-Portuguese Relations Since 1900" (2017), the durability of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance has led many historians to describe the relationship between the two countries in almost 'romantic' terms. In fact, the idea of mutual benefits and friendship was at the heart of the first Anglo-Portuguese treaty, signed in 1386, with the aim of formalizing an alliance.[1] The concept of friendship between the two countries was undoubtedly the focus, as can be seen from these lines in the first part:

> (…) first, it is decided and finally agreed that for the public good and peace of the kings and their subjects of both kingdoms, firm, perpetual and true leagues, friendship, confederations and unions are in force and shall so remain in perpetuity between the two kingdoms. (Douglas and Myers, 1969: 145)[2]

In the second part of the document, the two countries agreed to help and support each other: "(…) it is cordially agreed that if, in time to come, one of the kings or his heirs shall need the support of the other, or his help (…) the ally shall be bound to give aid and succour to the other (...)". (Douglas and Myers, 1969:146)

Despite this attempt to demonstrate a balance of power in the Alliance, as Thomas Earle suggests in "Portugal and England, 1386-2010: a Complex Web of Political, Economic and Intellectual Interchange" (2010), from the very beginning one of the main characteristics of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was the inequality of the two nations.

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[1]The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance is one of the oldest cooperative agreements in the world. It can be traced back to 1147 during the Siege of Lisbon when England and other North-European countries helped Portugal to conquer the city of Lisbon from the Moors. It was renewed in 1373 by King Edward III of England and King Ferdinand and Queen Eleanor of Portugal. But it was only in 1386 that the Alliance was cemented both by the Treaty of Windsor and by the marriage of Philippa of Lancaster, the daughter of John of Gaunt, to King John I of Portugal.

[2]This English version of *A Treaty of Perpetual Alliance between England and Portugal* was translated by Alec Reginald Myers and David Charles Douglas in *English Historical Documents*, vol. 4 (Late Medieval Period), 1327-1485. The original text in Latin is collected in *Foedera* by Thomas Rymer, vol. 3: 200.

As noted above, relationships are based on power dynamics in which there is a stronger element which retains control.By the second half of the eighteenth century, England had become a rich country, and was politically and economically one of the most important powers in Western Europe. England played a central role in European political affairs and often had the strength and power to destabilize the delicate political equilibrium between the other European countries. Portugal, on the other hand, "was a small and struggling kingdom". (Earle, 2010: 2) As the more powerful partner in the Alliance, England gained the greater benefit from it and was always ready to evoke it to its own advantage, whenever it was deemed necessary.

Despite the imbalance of powers between the two countries, the Alliance was, first and foremost, essential to both. As Thomas Gallagher explains in his article "Anglo-Portuguese Relations since 1900" (1986), published in *History Today*, the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was above all "a pact of mutual security". (2) On the one hand, Portugal needed a protector which could guarantee its independence from Spain, on the other, Britain was attracted by the strategic position of Portugal and the Portuguese islands of Azores and Cape Verde which stood at the crossroads of the most important maritime routes. (Earle, 2010: 38-39)

The first situation which shook the Anglo-Portuguese alliance took place at the end of the nineteenth century during the 'Scramble for Africa'. Known as the 'Rose-Coloured Map', Portugal's plan was to claim sovereignty over a land corridor (today the area covered by Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi) linking its two colonies of Angola and Mozambique. At the same time, England was planning to connect its territory in South Africa to its possessions on the Mediterranean Sea. The interests of the two powers clashed in a lengthy dispute which changed the course of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.

In 1884-85, during the Berlin Conference, England and Portugal tried in vain to solve the dispute, as Maria Teresa Pinto Coelho explains in her book, *Apocalipse e Regeneração: o Ultimatum e a Mitologia da Pátria na Literatura Finessecular* (1996) and in her later essay "Lord Salisbury's 1890 *Ultimatum* to Portugal and Anglo-Portuguese Relations". (2004:6) At the Conference, the Principle of Effective Occupation was approved to regulate the establishment of colonies in Africa. (2004:2-4) This principle overrode historical claims based on priority of discovery, which was the principle evoked by Portugal to justify its rights in Africa. The new article established that the possession of any portion of Africa would have to be recognized by the European powers depending upon the effective settlement of the territory in question.

As a consequence, both Portugal and England sent explorers and troops to occupy the territory under dispute. The situation got gradually worse, with the occurrence of skirmishes between the troops, until 11th January 1890, when England issued an *ultimatum* to Portugal.

In the *Ultimatum*, Lord Salisbury, the English Prime Minister, demanded the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Mashona and Matabeleland (Zambia and Zimbabwe) and the Shire-Niassa region (Malawi). Salisbury also threatened to remove the English ambassador from Lisbon and to break off diplomatic relations between the two countries:

> what Her Majesty's Government requires and insists upon is the following: that telegraphic instructions shall be sent to the governor of Mozambique at once to the effect that all and any Portuguese military forces which are actually on the Shire or in the Makololo or in the Mashona territory are to be withdrawn. Her Majesty's Government considers that without this the assurances given by the Portuguese Government are illusory. Mr. Petre [the English Minister in Lisbon] is compelled by his instruction to leave Lisbon at once with all the members of his legation unless a satisfactory answer to this foregoing intimation is received by him, in the course of this evening, and Her Majesty's ship Enchantress is now at Vigo waiting for his orders. (*Apud* Coelho, 1996: 15)

The *Ultimatum* was perceived in opposite ways by the two European Powers.As far as England was concerned, it was not only necessary but fair. The impact of the *Ultimatum* on English public opinion is clearly transpires from the press of the day. The majority of newspapers, from *TheTimes* to the *Morning Post*, supported the position of the English Government. Public opinion was unequivocal.The English were unquestionably right about the African question. That was unquestionable. Moreover, Britain did not believe that Portugal had the strength to occupy and exercise effective control over such areas, as can be seen from this excerpt from an article published in the *Saturday Review*,[3] in November 1889:

> Although all international law is contentious enough, there is perhaps, less contention about the proceedings necessary to give validity to the claim prior to that of other nations. It must be distinctly made, and it must be followed up by, at least, some attempt to make the possession real. In none of these respects can any sufficient evidence be produced in support of the Portuguese position. (1889:601)

As far as England was concerned, Portugal was too 'weak' for 'real possession' of the African territories in question. For this reason the *Ultimatum* was seen as the only solution to the long quarrel. On 15th January 1890, *The Guardian* wrote:

> Lord Salisbury could not have asked less. It is simply a moderate requisition that the Portuguese should retire from the country, in which they have done so much mischief, within their own acknowledged borders. (1890: 81)

[3]All the articles are quoted from the online The British Newspapers Archive.

In an attempt to solve the situation, Portugal and England drew up a treaty on August 20th, 1890. However, in September of that same year, the treaty ended up by not being ratified by the Portuguese Parliament but eventually England's inflexible and demanding position in the dispute became more moderate and Portugal capitulated. The Portuguese Government had no choice but to comply with the *Ultimatum*, in view of Portugal's inferior strength, compared to a country which was the world's superpower at the time. Portugal and England finally put an end to their dispute and established the borders which still exist today, by the treaty of 11th June 1891.[4] The outcome of the dispute was that Britain consolidated and legitimized its possessions in South-Central Africa.

The situation was viewed in a completely different way in Portugal. For the Portuguese, the *Ultimatum* was a deeply humiliating experience. As Maria Teresa Pinto Coelho argues, the *Ultimatum* has not only destroyed Portugal's trust in its ally, but also Portugal's imperialistic ambitions. (1996:16) The Portuguese Government had no alternative but to accept British demands and face the consequences of waves of anti-British nationalism which swept across the country. The response of the population to capitulation took the form of anti-dynastic and anti-British attitudes. England was portrayed in the press as a treacherous power, and anti-British demonstrations took place all over Portugal. Moreover, the King and the Royal Family were blamed for the situation and denounced as cowards who had betrayed their own nation. The central importance of the *Ultimatum* to Portuguese internal and foreign policy can be assessed from the words of Basílio Teles:[5]

> Qualquer que seja o destino reservado à pátria portugueza o 11 de Janeiro de 1890 ficará sendo para ele uma data memorável – este dia valeu séculos, este momento, à semelhança de outros que conhecemos da história, resumiu, na sua intensa brevidade, todo um passado doloroso e esboçou, numa fórmula indecisa, o segredo dum futuro perturbante. Foi com certeza um epílogo e será também um prólogo. (*Apud* Teixeira, 1987: 687)

What was for England an episode of relative insignificance became, for Portugal, a watershed in contemporary history. Riding on a wave of public frustration, Portuguese national pride was

[4]The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1891 was an agreement between England and Portugal. It brought to an end twenty years of dispute over territorial claims in Africa. It fixed the boundaries that existed until the decolonization between the territories of the current Malawi, parts of Zimbabwe – Mashonaland and Matabeleland –, parts of Zambia – North Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia –Portuguese Mozambique and Portuguese Angola. The treaty gave Portugal more power in the territory of Zambezi valley but the control of the Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe passed from the Portuguese to the British. Moreover, although Portugal retained sovereignty over the Zambezi valley, the British could freely navigate on Zambezi River.

[5]Basílio Teles (1856-1923) was a Portuguese writer and poet. Early on, he joined the Republican Party and he took a prominent role in the Republican Revolt of January 31, 1891. The failed coup, that occured in the city of Oporto, forced him into exile. Following the granting of an amnesty, Basílio Teles returned to his country, leaving his political life as an activist behind but without renouncing to his democratic ideals. He was a central figure of his time, due to his political activities, to his work as a critical publicist of the First Republic (1910-1926) and to his economic and political writing.

shaken as a consequence of the *Ultimatum*, whilst the Republican Party, which had denounced the errors and misuse of power and had cast discredit on the Monarchy, gained even greater support.

As Douglas L. Wheeler explains in the third chapter – "Republicanization" – of his book, *Republican Portugal: a Political History, 1910-1926*, it was in the period after the *Ultimatum* that the process of "republicanization" began, leading up to the proclamation of the Republic. (1978:34-39) It was during these years that the anti-monarchist and liberal ideas of the Republican Party gained support. Indeed, a direct line can be drawn between the *Ultimatum* and other historical events, such as the assassination of the King, Dom Carlos, in 1908 and the Proclamation of the Republic in 1910. Quoting the words of João Chagas,[6] "começou-se por gritar, abaixo a Inglaterra; acabou-se por gritar, viva a República". (1894: 7)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the 'Anglophilia' which had tended to characterize the relationship between Portugal and England in previous centuries turned into 'Anglophobia'. British products were boycotted and British citizens were refused admission to theatres and hotels. An attempt was made to eliminate English borrowings from the Portuguese language. Everything that could be considered 'English' was banned or stigmatized.

Apparently, England seemed unconcerned about the political and social changes that were taking place in Portugal. However, it is obvious that London was uncomfortable about the risk of losing power and control over Portugal. It is difficult to exercise power over something one does not know and which differs so much from oneself. The principle that allows one to have control over something is 'similarity'; the more similar something is to us, the easier it is to control it. This concept was explained and analyzed by Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* (1994).

The 'Other' is unknown, unpredictable, different from the 'Self' and for this reason perceived as dangerous. The only way to 'control' the Other is to define it, making it 'similar' to something already known. By doing this one can go back to what may be considered as a 'comfort zone'. This mental process can be applied even when the relationship between two different nations is analyzed, when one is considered the 'Other' and another the 'Self'.

The power dynamic of 'control through domestication'is clearly present in the case of Colonialism and Imperialism.[7]This idea emerges in the definition of 'Imperialism' by Edward Said:

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[6] The politician, journalist and writer, João Pinheiro Chagas (1863-1925) was a fundamental figure of his time, crucial to the understanding of the ideology, process and evolution of the Republican Party. Prime Minister on two occasions and Foreign Minister, he fought all his life for the republican ideal and against censorship. His articles were the cause of his exile in Angola and Paris, and of his imprisonment in his own country. Chagas never gave up his critical and revolutionary attitude, even when Portugal had become a Republic.

[7]During a lecture at York University in Toronto in 1993, Edward Said explained the concepts of 'Colonialism' and 'Imperialism': "As I shall be using the term – and I'm not really too interested in terminological adjustments – 'imperialism' means the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre that rules a distant territo-

"imperialism means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory". (1994:9) Said goes on in his definition to warn about the ethnocentric perspective in the imperialistic process: "imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, White, or Black, or Western, or Oriental". (1994:336) He then explains how the Imperialist process is directly linked with the subordination of a culture to another:

> It is more rewarding and more difficult to think concretely and sympathetically, contrapuntally, about others than only about "us." But this also means not trying to rule others, not trying to classify them or put them in hierarchies, above all, not constantly reiterating how "our" culture or country is number one (or not number one, for that matter).(1994:336)

A direct consequence of the occupation of a foreign country by another nation is the establishment of the political, economic and social system of the conquering power as the only way to control and 'domesticate' what is recognised as unknown and different. As far aspower relationships between two territoriesare concerned, the greater the similarities are, the greater the control must be. This principle works for all kinds of unbalanced power relations, where there is, on one side, a stronger 'Self' and, on the other side, a weaker 'Other'. This was also true for the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, where England considered herself to be in a position of power over Portugal. She perceived Portugal as a kind of 'Other' that could be controlled as long as the nation could be defined as something 'similar to England'.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the rise of the Republican Party and – in 1910 – the proclamation of the Portuguese Republic, undermined the notion of a controlled ally. Aristocratic and Court circles in England demonstrated their affection for the Portuguese monarchy, welcoming the deposed Royal family. Many politicians, among them Winston Churchill, tried to convince Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs not to formally recognize the Portuguese Republic. In a letter addressed to Sir Arthur Hardinge,[8] dated 13 July 1913, Sir Edward Grey made it clear that the position of England regarding Portuguese political affairs was neutral, whilst affirmingthat if Spain attacked Portugal to restore the monarchy, Britain would not interfere:

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ry. 'Colonialism', which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory" (Edward Said, Lecture at the University of Toronto, February 10, 1993, web magazine, http://saiayork.org/saia-blog/2014/9/29/edward-saids-lecture-at-york-university).These acts do not merely imply the 'acquisition' of a territory but he clarifies that they are "supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination." (*Idem, Ibidem*)

[8]Sir Arthur Hardinge (1859-1933) was H.M.Ambassador to Portugal from 1910 to 1913.

> It would, perhaps, be more satisfactory for us to have close relations with one country whose policy was mainly directed by Spain, than to have things as they were now. But I could not commit the British government (...). I said that, probably, if the state of things in Portugal was so bad as to demand intervention, the British government would not themselves intervene and would oppose the intervention of any European power except Spain. (*Apud* Vincent-Smith, 1975:711)

The Portuguese Republic was officially recognized by England – and consequently by other European countries – only one year later, in 1911.

In Republican Portugal, political issues were not the only problems to concern Britain. The religious question concerned England as much as the other issues and it soon became the main subject of debate among the other European powers. The anticlerical ideology of the Portuguese Republican regime led to the intimidation of religious communities, and a law separating Church and State was soon passed. The Law of Separation was perceived abroad as a symbol of uncivilized irrationality, and it increased the latent hostility between Britain and the Portuguese Republic.

In spite of the changes in Portuguese internal affairs andBritain's neutral reaction, both the British Government and British public opinion wanted the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance to continue, but more than ever on British terms. With this in mind, British leaders felt free to criticize every "any and all aspects of Portugal's management of her affairs and to apply any pressure to Portugal which not only British interests but vague ideas of international standards of conduct seemed to require". (Vincent-Smith, 1957: 707-708)Britain maintained a negative view of the Portuguese political situation without criticizing or opposing it directly, and her attitudes towards the new Republican regime swung between extreme hostility to condescending sympathy.

Among the means most frequently employed to criticize Portuguese Republican politics was the British press and British travellers' accounts. The two works by Aubrey Bell,[9]*Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915) and *In Portugal* (1912) are good examples of the genre. In both works, the British journalist exalted rural life in the Portuguese countryside, whilst trying to discredit the Republican Government. Bell repeatedly stressed how the Republicans had obtained their power through violence. Though they had initially denied their involvement in the King's assassination, they "subsequently have accepted it as one glorious deed of Portuguese history". (Bell, 1915:189) In addition,

[9]At the beginning the the twentieth century, Aubrey Bell (1881-1950) was the correspondent for several newspapers – e.g. *The Morning Post*, *The Times*– in Spain and Portugal, depicting the two countries from a royalist and conservative perspective, at the beginning of the twentirth century. He spent most of his life in Portugal and Spain. He lived for thirty years in S.Joao do Estoril, Portugal, and wrote reviews and books. One of the most important characteristics of Bell's writing was his anti-Republican stance which was clearly manifested in some of his writings – e.g. *In Portugal* (1912), *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915).Together with Edgar Prestage, Aubrey Bell was one of the most important lusophiles, who published over a hundred writings on Portuguese and Spanish matters – e.g *Studies in PortugueseLiterature* (1914) and *Portuguese Portraits* (1917).

he pointed out how their rise to power had relied on the ignorance of the Portuguese people, they "spread their doctrines by gossip, pamphlets and newspapers among the lower-educated classes", (183) so the Revolution and the birth of the Republic was the consequence of the ignorance of the Portuguese". (191) Aubrey Bell also disapproved of the widespread Portuguese indifference to politics,"they [the Portuguese people] are in fact much more apt to be indolently indifferent, ever ready to say of a government, whether Monarchist or Republican: nem e bom nem e ruim (…)". (Bell, 1912: 5)

In his book *Portugal of the Portuguese*, he criticized the Republicans for their attitude towards the Church and viewed the progress brought by the Republican regime as an excuse for breaking with tradition and customs:

> (...) the priests are forbidden to wear their cassocks, many of them having but a slovenly appearance in slouching black suits, soft shirts, and bowless or black squash hats (…). Thus Progress extends its dreary net of grey uniformity over the land; and neglect of old traditions is one of the contradictions in the character o f a people whose eyes turn willingly to the past (…). (9)

As Katarzyna Benmansour explains in her thesis, *In Portugal (1912): Aubrey Bell's Depiction of Portuguese Society under the First Republic* (2011), Aubrey Bell's view of the regime was hostile and radical, and his description of what was going on in Portugal at the beginning of the twentiethcentury was a clear example of the surreptitiously critical approach of the British towards the Republicans and, later on, towards the Republic. (12)

In addition to the direct testimonies of British journalists and travellers, the Campaign of the Duchess of Bedford in support of Portuguese Political Prisoners, in which Aubrey Bell took part together with other journalists and writers, is another example of how England sought indirectly to exert power over Portugal and to influence public opinion. In fact the campaign in favour of Portuguese Royalist prisoners was also designed to discredit and negatively depict the Republican system. As Aubrey Bell wrote in an article published in *The Morning Post*,in February, 1913:

> (…) the miserable conditions of the Royalists remain unchanged. Moreover, those benefiting by the reforms do not include the hundreds of Royalists who are not confined in cells but crowded with every kind of criminals (…) kept there without a trial. (8)

Another significant point of view concerning the prisons in Portugal was that of Philip Gibbs, correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* in the first decades of the twentieth century. As Martin Kerby explains in the chapter two of his work"Sir Philip Gibbs and English Journalism in War and Peace" (2016:18-59), in 1911, Gibbs was sent to Portugal in order to "ascertain the true facts uncoloured by prejudices. He visited two prisons, the Penitenciária and Limoeiro, both considered 'model prisons'". (2916:44) To Gibbs the prisons appeared as if they had been,

> (…) specially and beautifully designed to drive men mad and kill their humanity. It was spotlessly clean, but it kept prisoners entombed in solitary confinement, preferring death to further terms of incarceration. The Political prisoners were also united in their anger that the government had treated them like common criminals. (*Apud* Kerby, 2016:45)

The intervention of the British press and the cultural elite in the Portuguese affairs was more than a simple act of philanthropy and humanity. It was an act of "interested humanitarianism", a tool through which England could influence public opinion by first discrediting the Democratic Party and then the Portuguese Republic.

In the earlytwentiethcentury there was a latent climate of tension between England and Portugal, especially after the assassination of the Portuguese King and the Proclamation of the Republic. From then on, with the emergence of the Republican Party, Portugal began to change and escape from England's control. Against this background, Britain began to exert invisible pressure both on Portugal and on British public opinion, feigning neutrality in disguised travel reports, articles in the press and literary works.

As analyzed in the following chapters, the translations of the English lusophile Edgar Prestage were set against this delicate political background and influenced by it. However, before moving on to the analysis of Prestage's translations, it is necessary to analyze the role of images in literature – more specifically – in translations.

In the next chapter, through the concept of Imagology linked to Translation Studies, an analysis is carried out of the way images of a 'source culture' are conveyed in translations and how this process implies the (de) construction or reinforcement of national stereotypes.

2. Stereotyping a Nation through Translation?

Every day of our lives, we are constantly 'bombarded' by images. From television to newspapers, radio and the internet, we are continuously subjected to their reception. Images have a powerful impact and they can be very ambiguous. Most images are constructed, emitted and received by readers/viewers, without their knowing what is going on, without the mediation of their conscious minds and awareness. Indeed the rationalization of such images is a process which takes place in the unconscious mind of the receiver. For these reasons, an image is a powerful tool, more powerful than one might expect.

As two of the central figures in Image Studies, Manfred Beller and Joseph Theodoor Leerssen explain in *Imagology: the Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*,[10] the power of the image and the relationship between image and perception has been a field of study since the beginning of philosophical thinking. From Plato and Aristotle, the question "What is an image?" has always been present in Western philosophy and a complete answer to this question has not yet been found. The idea of the image also brings further questions: "Are we sure that we see what we think we see?"; "Are our opinions about other people true?" "What do we know about the way we see ourselves?" (Beller and Leerssen, 2007: 4)All these questions are related to the concepts of the Self and the Other, both of which are built up through images. As Manfred Beller writes in his work, the word "imagology" is a neologism to explain the study of mental images of the Other and the Self. It is a process that leads readers to deconstruction and critical analysis of the rhetoric of national images in a literary work. Imagology studies the images and characteristics of other countries which appear in novels, travel books, essays or poems. Quoting the words of Beller, imagology is "the critical analysis of national stereotypes in literature". (Beller and Leerssen, 2007: 17)

In many cases, images are constructed with the aim of defining the unknown Other. What is unknown is potentially dangerous; it is something that might threaten the Self because it is different. An image may also be an efficient way to dominate the Other. Once an image is created and the Other is characterized in a certain way, it can be controlled and dominated.

As human beings, we tend to attribute specific characteristics to societies, races or even nations that are different from ourselves. For centuries, the contact of the Europeans with different cultures has been ethnocentric, based on the idea that European cultures were better than oth-

[10]Their field of research is based precisely on the relationship between nationalism and national sterotyping.The main aim of the bookis to develop a critical analysis of national stereotypes in literature, above all in Europe. This critical analysis is called Imagology and the research in this field is focused on the mental images of the Other created by the Self.

ers.Anything that deviated from accustomed patterns or values is ‘othered’ as an anomaly, a ‘mis-take’ or something bizarre. Such ethnocentric categorization of different cultures influences the way nations are perceived, and their specific peculiarities and characters represented. This process contributes to the creation of national stereotypes.

An example of how the Other was defined through stereotypes is the “orientalization of the Orient” by the Western world. This idea was put forward by Edward Said in his celebrated book *Orientalism*. During the process of defining the unknown – the Orient (which in this case is the Other) – the West, the Self, through its artists (painters, writers, travellers, etc.) developed a specific ability to stereotype the East. This representation of the Orient became a powerful force of distortion, “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and (most of the time) the Occident”. (Said 1978: 55) The worst consequence was perhaps the fact that this stereotyped representation of the Orient was accepted and interiorized by the Occident and ultimately turned into reality. An entire region and its population became an amalgam of pre-constructed images.

The usage of stereotypes for representing a foreign country is not something new. An analysis of the history of literature shows that stereotyped images have always been present. For example, the earliest classical poems used *topoi* for depicting the characteristics of a country or a people which were nothing more than c*lichés.*In a literary book, national characterizations are linked to the subjectivity of the writer and not to his/her empirical approach to reality. In the reception and analysis of a piece of work, it is not possible to ‘filter’ or ignore this subjectivity.In this way, the imagologist is interested not only in the images that characterize the Other, that is the “foreign nation”, but also in the Self, that is, his/her “cultural identity”.

One is constructed in contrast with the Other and this process is dialogic. Whilst the foreign identity is defined by images, the “domestic” one is also suggested. If one says that Italians are noisier than Portuguese, this would suggest that the Portuguese are quiet people.

Imagologists tended to focus their attention on the representation of national characters in the literary works. But what does “literary works” mean? Novels, short stories, travel books, poems? What about translations? Do they work as the “Others” in the creation of stereotyped images? In the final decades of the twentieth century, a new approach to translation was developed, called Translation Studies.As André Lefevere[11] says this subjectdeals with“the problems raised by the production and description of translations.” (*Apud* Bassnett, 2014:19)

[11]André Lefevere’s theory – inspired by the Polysystem Theory developed by Itamar Even-Zohar – is based on the idea of “rewriting”. Thus, any text produced on the basis of another, adapts somehow the source text. His theory contributed to the look at a translation in a different way, as a “new” text, and then to the development of the Translation Studies as an independent discipline and a new field of research.

In the Introduction of her book *Translation Studies*, Susan Bassnett argues that, generally speaking,people tend to simplify translations. Thus translations are usually understood as a transposition of a sourcelanguage text (SL) into a target language text (TL), so both remain as similar as possible:

> For people, translation appears to be something technical. I have always held to the view posed by Edward Sapir that different languages represent different world views, that is not simply a question of rephrasing when one moves into another language but reformulating that is rethinking. (…) when we come to translation of literary texts this is not a skill. Here translation is effectively rewriting." (*Apud*, Bahrawi 2010: n.p.)[12]

Thus, translations should not be perceived as mere mechanical process based on the principle of similarity between SL text and TL text. Nowadays, translated texts can be seen and studied as creative and "original" pieces of literary work, where the translators rewrite (consciously or unconsciously) the source text, changing it (explicitly or not) into something different.

In *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology*, Luc van Doorslaer, Peter Flynn and Joep Leerssen explain that translations play an important role in Image Studies. Choosing to translate one work rather than another, oneauthor instead of another, is the first step towards the creation of a national character. This "choice of translation" is also a "choice of images" which leads tothe the distortion of an image of a country and its culture.Moreover, a translator may change the source text, by rewriting it and filtering it to make it more adequate to the expectations of the target culture.

Translations tend to conform to the mental images that a 'target culture' has already towards a 'source culture'. For example, the choice to translate into English *One Thousand and One Nights*, with its stories of magic and eroticism set in exotic places, was an obvious way to reinforce the "Orientalization of the Orient" for eighteenth-century English readers. Another example, given by Emer O'Sullivan in *Englishness in German Translation of Alice in Wonderland*, is the translation of *Alice in Wonderland* into German. She demonstrates how translators have dealt with the same image of English eccentricity and humour in different ways over time, reinforcing or weakening it.

As Lawrence Venutiexplains in the chapter "The Formation of Cultural Identities" of his book *The Scandal of Translation. Towards an Ethics of Difference*, translations exercise an enormous power in the formation of cultural identities and in the representation of foreign cultures. The

[12]As her interviewer, Nazry Bahrawi, explains, Susan Bassnett is the "Queen" of Translation Studies. Her masterpiece, *Translation Studies* (2014) has become the "bible" for translation courses. Nazry Baharawi, a doctoral student at the University of Warwick, had the possibility to interview Bassnett in 2010, because she was his supervisor. During the interview, he asked her about the "future" of Translation Studies and she answered: "You ask me now to gaze into a crystal ball. There is no question that translation is now hugely important as a global enterprise (…). This is due to the movement of peoples in greater numbers than ever before around the globe (...). The vital role of translation in the propagation of world literature will continue to be high lightened. What I would hope not will happen is that translation as an applied science will be completely cut off from the aesthetic". (2010: n.p.)

choice of a text and the way it is translated, work together in the construction of an image of a foreign culture, of the 'Other'. Thus, translations help to reinforce or to "destroy" existing cultural images and social representations, becoming an instrument for creating or re-creating national stereotypes. (Venuti, 1998: 67-88)

During an interview entitled "The Pen Ten with Lawrence Venuti", by Lauren Cerand, the critic defines the role of the translator in the following way: "Which is the responsibility of the translator? Constantly to make the receiving culture mindful of what it lacks". (The Pen Ten with Lawrence Venuti, *The Pen,* 2014, Web). According to this perception, translations are not only the result of a comparison between two different cultures, but also a way of filling in the gaps within the target cultural system.[13]Through translated literature, new realities and values are introduced in a certain literary system and, consequently, in its culture.

In *Translation as Blockage, Propagation and Recreation of Ethnic Images?*,Roca Dimitriu also underlines the importance of translations in the creation of national images. The translator selects what he wants tointroduce (or not) in the target culture, and through his/her translation, images and ethnic stereotypes are absorbed by that cultural system. Often the translations are not just linked with stereotypes but also with the propaganda of an ideology. Dimitriu gives the example of communist propaganda. Russian translators, who wanted to support communist ideology in their own country, chose to translate foreign texts whichreferred positively to it.

According to these points of view, translation is not an isolated activity or something 'neutral', but, on the contrary, is seen as an instrument of cultural change. The translated text is not merely a bridge between two (or more) different cultures, but it has a specific purpose. Through the choice of the work to be translated and the goals or guidelines of the translation activity, the translator gives a certain image of a foreign culture and he/she shapes it the way he/she wants it to be perceived. As André Lefevere explains in the preface of the book *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame,* the original text is not chosen by chance, but for certain purposes, and the guidelines or strategies used in the translation are defined to serve this purpose. For him, the translation is "the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work". (Lefevere, 1992:1-12).Lefevere develops the idea of translation as a form of "re-writing". This means that any text produced on the basis of another aims to adapt it to a certain ideology or intention. According to this view, translations might become instruments for manipulating the perception of a foreign culture.

[13] Lauren Cerard's interview for the series Pen Ten took place in 2014. She asked ten questions to ten different authors regarding their ideas about literature.

In fact, it was no accident that *Os Maias* was translated into English for the first time only in 1965.The author of the book, Eça de Queirós (1845-1900) was a member of theGeração de 70, [14] and the novel underlines the social decay of Portugal during the fall of the monarchy, the backwardness of Portuguese culture and the necessity of political change.

It was not acoincidencethat the translation into English was carried outduring the Salazar dictatorship. It is obvious that such a translation was done to demonstrate the need for political change, and to display a decadent image of Portugal in England and the rest of Europe. The translation of Eça de Queirós' book wasalso used to demonstrate the disillusion of the younger generation towards the political system. The image of Portugal's decay in the late nineteenth century was used to stress the need for change in contemporary Portugal.

As already mentioned, the activity of translation is a form of rewriting fora specific purpose, sometimes to createa certain image of a foreign culture and to reinforcenational stereotypes. Thus, the translation of a piece of work often goes well beyond the aim of the source text. The choices made depend on ideological leanings, on the political situation of the countries involved, and also on the stereotypes preserved by both the source and target cultures.In suchacontext, translators are not just delivering messages from one culture to another. In a more or less explicit way, they take part in the creation and maintenance of national stereotypes and, above all, they play an important role in the (re)definition of the relationship between two cultures.

As a conscious reader, one has to approach a translation in a critical way, asking a whole series of questions, as Luis Jolicoeur mentions in the article "Literary Translation and Cultural Dissemination: Between Aesthetics and Politics":

> Among the authors of a given culture, which ones are translated? Who translates and publishes these authors? Who are the readers for whom these translations are made? How are these authors translated? (2008: n.p.)

Every translation depicts an image of a foreign country and it is up to readers to understand what that image really means.

From this perspective, when approachingEdgar Prestage's translations of Eça de Queirós' works, one needs to ask oneself, "What images did Prestage convey in his translations?". Before trying to answer to this question, it is important to analyze the relationship between the Portuguese author and the English translator.

[14]The Geração de 70emerged in Coimbra, in the bohemian atmosphere of the old University. Young students such as Eça de Queiros, Antero de Quental, Teófilo Braga, Oliveira Martins and others, met each other to exchange ideas on politics, literature, culture, etc. They discussed the changes which should be introduced into the cultural and political life of 'old' Portugal.

3. Prestage and Eça

3.1. Edgar Prestage, an English Lusophile

> "Portugal doesn't need reform Cohen!
> What Portugal needs is a Spanish invasion!"
> (Eça de Queirós, *Os Maias*, 1888:66)

> "O Inglês, sem chá, bate-se frouxamente".
> (Eça de Queirós, "Afeganistão e Irlanda",
> *Cartas de Inglaterra*, 1905:58)

Edgar Prestage (1869-1951) was one of the greatest English Lusophiles[15] of the first half of the twentieth century. Curiously, considering that no one in his family had ever met anyone of Portuguese nationality or knew anything about Portugal, Prestage had experienced a strong attraction for Portugal since childhood, as he wrote in his "Notas Autobiográficas" (1919):

> muitas pessoas, assim como em Inglaterra, têm perguntado como eu vim a consagrar os melhores anos da minha vida ao estudo aturado da literatura e historia portuguesas. (…) Há qualquer cousa de misterioso na atracção que me levou, ainda criança, a desenhar mapas da terra, que passados muitos anos eu vinha habitar. (171)

It was the adventures of Portuguese armies in the distant Orient which fascinated the young Prestage:

> a antiga glória militar dos Portugueses; que me persuadiu a estudar a sua história (…). Possuído de um temperamento romântico e de uma imaginação viva, eu via com os olhos da alma, ao entrar no Tejo, a saída das armadas para o descobrimento e conquista do Oriente, e vivia nos séculos XV e XVI. (171)

At primary school, he used to draw maps of Portugal, and Vasco da Gama was his personal hero. As he recalled in "Reminiscences of Portugal" (1953), Prestage spent part of his spare time reading a bilingual version of *Os Lusíadas*, with the help of a small Portuguese grammar book and an old Portuguese-Latin dictionary. (5) Thanks to

[15]An attraction towards Portugal and Portuguese culture.

this home study of the Portuguese language, he was soon able to understand and read Portuguese literature. In 1886, he enrolled at Oxford University where he found a conducive intellectual atmosphere and people who sympathised with his efforts to study the Portuguese language and literature. It was the perfect grounding for Prestage's studies.

As John Laidlar wrote in his article "Edgar Prestage: Manchester's Portuguese Pioneer" (1992), during his first visit to Portugal in 1890, Prestage impressed the head teacher of the English Seminary in Lisbon, Rev. James Warwick,[16] with his profound knowledge of Portuguese literature. He said that before meeting Prestage "he had not come across a single non-Portuguese who took the slightest interest in any but Camões". (74)

On this first visit, Prestage already felt a deep attachment to Portugal. In his "Notas Autobiográficas", he underlined this strong identification with Portugal which later moved him to take sides against his own country:

> O País encontrava-se num estado de efervescência por causa do Ultimatum britânico, e em Coimbra os rapazes fizeram uma manifestacão hostil à porta do nosso hotel (…), gritando Bifs, Bifs; não sabiam que eu, com a minha simpatia para Portugal, tinha contribuído com uma libra para a subscrição nacional, destinada a construir uma esquadra que defendesse o país contra Inglaterra! (1919: 174)

During his university studies, Prestage corresponded with a number of celebrated Portuguese writers, including Teófilo Braga,[17] Oliveira Martins[18] and Batalha Reis.[19] As Teresa Pinto Coelho explains in her essay "Eça de Queirós and Edgar Prestage"

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[16]Rev. James Warwick was the vice-president of the English Seminary in Lisbon until 1892. He was a member of the English School in Lisbon, "O Colégio dos Inglesinhos", a Roman Catholic Church school, active between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. On this subject see Lousada and Ramos, 1995: 9-44.

[17]Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) was a Portuguese writer and politician, and the first President of the Portuguese Republic. Like Eça de Queirós, he was an active member of the the Geração de 70.

[18]Joaquim de Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) was a Portuguese historian and politician, and a member of the Geração de 70. He was a key-figure in the political changes of the nineteenth century. He wrote for many different socialist newspapers and his works – in the social sciences and history – were a landmark for the generations which followed.

[19]Jaime Batalha Reis (1847-1935) was an agronomist, a writer and a diplomat. He was a lifetime friend of Eça de Queirós. This relationship widened his circle of friends, and Batalha de Reis's house, in Travessa do Guarda-Mór, in the heart of Bairro Alto, became the meeting place for the intellectual and bohemian group, called the Geração de 70.

(2000),[20]that it was Batalha Reis who helped Edgar Prestage in all his translations, and his information and suggestions concerning Portuguese literature were an indispensable contribution to Prestage's work. He proved to be essential for Prestage to achieve his goal of drawing attention to Portuguese writers: "my ambition in life has been and is, to make the greater writers of Portugal known to Englishmen". ("Letter to Teófilo Braga", 1893: 253)[21]

While Prestage was still living in England, Batalha Reis was the link between him and the Portuguese world, and quoting the words of Prestage, "se não perdi o amor das letras no meio comercial daquela cidade de fábricas e chaminés fumegantes, devo-o em grande parte ao estímulo do novo amigo que Deus me mandou, Jaime Batalha Reis". ("Notas Autobiográficas", 1919: 174)

From these few lines one can perceive the importance of the friendship between Prestage and Batalha Reis, but also how difficult it was for him to be away from his beloved Portugal. Prestage's love for the countryleft a markon his whole life. He was attracted by every facet of Portuguese society, from literature to history, which is clearly shown by the wide variety of his works, from books on Portuguese history such as *The Portuguese Pioneers* and *Portugal & the War of the Spanish*,to translations of Portuguese works like *O Suave Milagre* and *O Defunto* by Eça de Queirós, or Antero de Quental's letters.[22]

From his first visit to Portugal in 1890, he spent more and more time in Lisbon where he carried out much historical research. During Prestage's regular visits to the Portuguese capital, he was introduced to the literary salon of the poet Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho,[23] where he met well-known political and intellectual figures of the day. By

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[20]In her essay, Teresa Pinto Coelho analyzes two of Edgar Prestage's translations *The Sweet Miracle* and *Our Lady of the Pillar*, bothwritten by Eça de Queirós. She focusses her attention on the correspondence between Prestage and Batalha Reis, underlining the central role of the Portuguese writer in the translations.

[21]Part of the correspondence between Edgar Prestage and Teófilo Braga is collected in "Relações de Edgar Prestage com Escritores Açorianos" written by Maria da Conceição Vilhena. This is a letter dated12th September 1893.

[22]Antero de Quental (1842-1891) was a Portuguese poet, writer and philosopher. When he was a student at the Faculty of Law of the University of Coimbra, he became leader of a student movement which struggled to reform Portuguese institutions, inciting the country to embrace European modernity. These ideas were always present in the works of Antero de Quental, who was the leader of the Geração de 70 and one of the first well-known Portuguese socialists.

[23]Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1847-1921) was a Portuguese poet and writer. As a feminist activist she played a central role in denouncing women's conditions in society. She was the first woman to join

early 1907, he had married Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho's daughter, Cristina. In the final years of World War I, he served as the cultural attaché of the British Embassy in Lisbon. As Jaime Batalha Reis told Prestage in a letter dated 2nd July 1904, "you are a unique friend of Portugal, and certainly deserve a monument in Lisbon". (*Apud*, Laidlar, 1992:75)[24]

Together with Aubrey Bell, Edgar Prestage played a pioneering role in revealing Portuguese literature, culture and history in England. More specifically, due to Prestage, Portuguese Studies were institutionalized as a subject at English universities. Quoting Aubrey Bell's words: "(...) few English scholars could say 'we' – meaning himself and the Portuguese – so naturally and sincere as he; and until his last days his outlook and even his home was still pervaded with the spirit of the country to which he had devoted so much study and love". (*Apud* Alves, 2002:138)

In addition to the truly genuine enthusiasm and fascination which, from the very beginning, characterized Prestage's relationship with Portugal and Portuguese literature, other factors need to be taken into consideration when approaching Prestage's translations. First of all, his strong Catholic faith which forcefully influenced both his views and his choice of literary translations.Quoting Prestage's words, "a minha fé religiosa e o amor das aventuras faz-me simpatisar com o espírito dos navegadores [Portugueses]". ("Notas Autobiográficas", 1919: 171) Religion was always important in Prestage's family. His father, with whom there were some disagreements, chose the Anglican college of Radley for his son's education, culminating in Prestage's conversion to Catholicism in 1886. He was accompanied in this by his mother, who had always exerted a significant influence upon him.

During his years as a student at Oxford, he joined a group of Catholic students called "The Newman Society", which discussed a wide range of different issues. Previously known as "Catholic Club", it was originally founded at Oxford University in 1878, to encourage Catholic students in their religious faith and to allow them to develop their intellectual and spiritual skills. In 1888, the club was renamed the "Newman Society", as a tribute to the Cardinal John Henry Newman[25] whom Prestage defined as

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the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, and her home became an extremely important literary salon in Lisbon.

[24]Cf. King's College Library Archives, University of London.

[25]During the 19th century the Church of England was facing new challenges. It had to deal with the industrial and scientific revolution, whilst trying to protect its power and wealth. In this context, the "Ox-

"o grande Cardeal, uma das sumidades intelectuais do século XIX". ("Notas Autobiográficas", 1919:174)

As Richard W. Pound explains in his article "Edgar Prestage's Correspondence" (1987), Prestage's devotion to Catholicism is illustrated by several letters from clerical figures, such as the Archbishop of Mytilene, who invited him to participate in a seminary, and Archbishop Hinsley[26] who suggested he should become the new president of the University of London Catholic Association. In the correspondence with these churchmen, Prestage had an opportunityto discuss different religious topics. (89) Catholicism influenced and accompanied Edgar Prestage's choices all his life, growing more intense towards the end of it.

Between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentiethcentury, Prestage was fortunateto experience all the most important events which changed the course of Portugal. The first time he visited Lisbon he had the opportunity to witness the unrest caused by the *Ultimatum* and the impact of the propaganda of the Republican Party.[27] Thereafter, he observed – indirectly – the events that shook Portugal and the world, from the assassination of the King D. Carlos and the heir to the throne, D. Luiz Filipe, to the proclamationof the Republic. Obviously, Prestage, who considered the Monarchy the only legitimate form of government, reacted negatively to the secular and anticlerical Republic which he believed usurped the birthright of the legitimate descendants of the great kings of the past.

Prestage was a conservative and a fervent Monarchist who saw in the Portuguese Republican Party and – later on – in the Portuguese Republic, an enemy which needed to be defeated. Quoting Prestage's words on the Republic, o "Portugal moderno,

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ford Movement" was founded at the University of Oxford. Also called "Catholic Revival", this movement aimed to bring about a renewal of "Catholicism" within the Church of England. Its principles were founded on the older Christian traditions of faith and its leader was John Henry Newman (1801-1890). He published the ideas of the movement in the 90 *Tracts for the Times* (1833-1841), where he asserted the authority of the Catholic Church, which had remained faithful to the dogmas and to the teaching of the early church. (Ramsey, 1990: 330-344)

[26]Archbishop Hinsley (1865-1943) was a member of the Roman Catholic Church and Archbishop of Westminster.

[27]In 1890, the *Ultimatum* imposed by England, was a turning point in the history of Portugal. As already seen in chapter one, the British Government demanded the withdrawal of the Portuguese in the areas between Mozambique and Angola, claiming the control of these lands. The capitulation of the Portuguese Government to English demands was perceived as a national humiliation, and it led to the demise of the Monarchy and the rise of the Republican Party.

materialista, liberal ou livre pensador, nunca me atraia". ("Notas Autobiográficas", 1919:171)

As Luísa Alves explains in her essay "Os Lusófilos Ingleses da Primeira República: Esboço Biográfico de Aubrey Bell e Edgar Prestage" (2002), Prestage had an unfavourable view of the new regime from the very beginning, and he never changed his mind. (Alves, 2002: 140) For him, Republican ideology was too far away from his conservative vision of politics and he was never at peace with the Republican regime until the advent of Salazar. (143)

Finally, it should be kept in mind that Prestage always studied Portuguese history and culture from a British perspective, preserving a hierarchical point of view towards the two cultures. He approached the Portuguese cultural system from an ethnocentric point of view, filtering it through an 'English lens'. Thus, Portugal passed through a process of 'domestication', to use Lawrence Venuti's expression, (Venuti, 1992) becoming somehow more similar to England or/and something which England could 'frame' and easily define.

For a better understanding of the reasons why Edgar Prestage translated Eça de Queirós, it is necessary to focus on Eça de Queirós as a man and a writer, in an attempt to throw light upon the relationship between him and the English lusophile.

3.2. Edgar Prestage and his 'Love-Hate Relationship' Relationship with Eça de Queirós

Edgar Prestage was a Monarchist and Catholic, whereas Eça de Queirós (1845-1900) had progressive and anticlerical views.

Eça de Queirós was a journalist, essayist, a writer of short-stories and travel accounts and a prolific letter-writer. He is considered to be one of the principal authors of modern Portuguese literature, and a pioneer of Portuguese Realism. He was admired for the originality and richness of his style and language, and his novel, *O Crime do Padre Amaro*, was considered a landmark in Portuguese Realism. He was also one of the most important novelists on the European nineteenth-century literary scene, and his works are

appreciated worldwide. Eça was also an active socially-committed man. Besides being a writer, he also served as a consul in Cuba, Newcastle, Bristol and Paris.[28]

From the beginning of his literary career, his social commitment and his critical attitude towards Society and the Church, is widely represented in his works, especially in his earlier ones. Eça questioned the romantic idealism of his century and based his writing on the critical observation and analysis of social customs and habits of the people of his time. In his works he tried to focus the reader's attention on the concrete problems of daily life.

Eça wanted to reform Portugal through his literature, struggling against the political, social and economic underdevelopment of his country. As far as art was concerned, the Portuguese writer did not accept the conventionalism of romantic aesthetics which diverted the attention of readers from the real problems of Portugal. Socialism, realism and naturalism are mixed together in his novels, underlining the problems of Portuguese society.

As Irene Fialho explains, in her essay "Geração de 70 – República antes de República" (2014), during the last three decades of the nineteenthcentury, a revolutionary group was formed in Portugal – known first as the "Cenáculo" and later as the Geração de 70– with the aim of disseminating a political and social ideology, based on the principles and values of a democratic system which they called "Republican". Among its members there were young writers and intellectuals such as the previously-mentioned Antero de Quental, Oliveira Martins, Jaime Batalha Reis and, of course, Eça de Queirós, figures who – either alone or together –contributed to the development of Portuguese culture, literature, history, and politics. They were all familiar with more advanced European cultures than that of Portugal, and they felt the need for a general improvement and renewal in the country. The group gravitated around the University of Coimbra and in 1871 they organized the Conferências Democráticas do Casino[29] to propagate their new ideas.

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[28]On Eça de Queirós see, amongst many others, Isabel Pires de Lima, *As Máscaras do Desengano – Para uma Leitura Sociológica de "Os Maias" de Eça de Queirós* (1987); A. Campos Matos (org.), *Dicionário de Eça de Queiroz* (1993); Carlos Reis, *O Essencial sobre Eça de Queirós* (2000); and Filomena Mónica, *Eça de Queirós* (2005).

[29]The Conferências do Casino ou Conferências Democráticas do Casino Lisbonense took place during the spring of 1871. The event was organized by Antero de Quental, who led the so-called "Cenacle Group" into which he brought young avant-garde writers and intellectuals. During the Conference, the group published its "manifesto", signed by Eça de Queirós, Jaime Batalha Reis, Oliveira Martins, Teófilo Braga and other intellectuals, which expressed their intention to pursue political and social changes

"Lançaram mão de vários recursos para divulgar e popularizar a sua quimera" (Fialho, 2014: 1) choosing to publish in small newspapers, which were designed to instruct the working class – most of whom were illiterate – in the new political and social ideas. The first to be published, on 1st May 1870, was *A República. Jornal da Democracia Portuguesa* and the main idea was set out on its first page, the revolution of society as the only way to social renewal:

> No meio das obscuras contradicções do mundo actual, e por entre as suas turvas perspectivas, um facto avulta a todos os olhos, inegável como a luz, preciso como a evidencia o irresistível como uma lei providencial. É a revolução. Domina, com a ubiquidade do destino, a humanidade contemporânea, e sob várias formas com vários nomes a penetra por todos os lados. E a renovação universal dos espíritos e das sociedades. (Anonym 1870:1)

The first issue carried the epigraph "*Destruam et ædificabo*". None of the articles were signed because most of the writerswere working as civil servants and they might lose their jobs if they were identified with extremist ideas. However, through lists drawn up by Batalha Reis, it is known that its founder and director was the socialist José Fontana[30] together with young intellectuals from the 70's Generation, among them Eça de Queirós, who actively participated in the group. (Fialho, 2014:2)

Eça's literary life was characterized by a critical attitude towards certain social aspects of Portugal and the Portuguese people. His main literary goal was to reflect the problems of the society, as one can see from his own words, in a letter to Teófilo Braga (1878) published in an edition of *O Primo Basílio* (1980):

> A minha ambição seria pintar a Sociedade portuguesa, tal qual a fez o Constitucionalismo desde 1830 – e mostar-lhe, como num espelho, que triste país eles formam, eles e elas. (...) É necessário acutilar o mundo oficial, o mundo sentimental, o mundo literário, o mundo agrícola, o mundo supersticioso – e com todo o respeito pelas instituições que são de origem eterna, destruir *as*

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and to analyse society as it was and how it should be. As they prepared for the sixth lecture, the authorities stopped them, alleging that the Conference sustained doctrines and propositions which attacked religion and the state. This was partially true, considering that in Portugal both the Monarchy and the Catholic Church were very strong and the Conference disseminated democratic and socialist ideas which were regarded as dangerous. On this matter see, amongst many others, Moog, 1966: 153-163 and Reis, 1990.

[30]José Fontana (1840-1875) was a Portuguese intellectual and political activist. He organised the Conferências do Casino and was one of the founders of the Portuguese Socialist Party.

> *falsas interpretações e falsas realizações* que lhes dá uma sociedade podre. (413)

Another of the main themes of Eça de Queirós's works is Religion. The author and fellow members of the Geração de 70 shared anticlerical views. They blamed the Catholic Church for the backwardness ofPortuguese society and they considered it responsible for the situation of decadence and chaos in which Portugal lived in the nineteenth century. This idea was put in the following terms by Antero de Quental: "enquanto as outras nações subiam, nós baixávamos. Subiam elas pelas virtudes modernas; nós descíamos pelos vícios antigos, concentrados, levados ao último grau de desenvolvimento e aplicação. Baixávamos pela indústria, pela política. Baixávamos, sobretudo, pela religião (...)." (*Apud*Nery, 2017: 164)

As António Augusto Nery explained in his essay "A Reliquia: Anticlericalismo e (Anti)Religiosidade para além da Paixão de Cristo" (2013), whenexamining specifically the work of Eça de Queirós, things areseen to be slightly different. Although he was moved by strong anticlerical views, it is clear that in his literary discourse he did not simply criticize the clergy and the Church. On the one hand, he condemned its corruption and falsity and its loss of real Christian values. On the other hand, he sought a purer form of Christianity, a kind of natural form of religion separate from the institutional version. In his novels, he reveals his profound reflections upon the transcendental nature of Religion and – with irony and sarcasm – he blames the fanaticism and the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church, which preached Christian values that it later ignored, as can be seen from the very first lines of the novel *A Relíquia*, where the main character, Teodorico, explains his origins to the reader, confessing that he was the grandchild of a priest:

> Meu avô foi o Padre Rufino da Conceição, licenciado em teologia, autor de uma devota Vida de Santa Filomena, e prior da Amendoeirinha. Meu pai, afilhado de Nossa Senhora da Assunção, chamava-se Rufino da Assunção Raposo, e vivia em Évora com minha avó, Filomena Raposo (…). (Queirós, 1887: 1)

The author denounces the widespread corruption of the Portuguese priesthood in a society where material values had substituted spiritual ones and where the appearance of religion and its rituals meant more than intrinsic values and devoted faith. Even though Eça de Queirós maintained a critical position towards the clergy, he showed an interest in the evangelical message of Christ – humanized by the author – and in a sim-

ple form of Christianity. Eça set forth in his writings a "natural religious faith" characterized by purity, simplicity and spontaneity, acting as a counterpoint to the institutional version. (Nery, 2013: 30)

A characteristic which needs to be taken into account in the analysis of Prestage's relationship with Eça de Queirós is the Portuguese author's attitude towards England. If Edgar Prestage was deeply in love with Portugal, the relationship between Eça and England was more of a 'love-hate' one.

Eça arrived in England for the first time in December 1874 to work as a consular official in Newcastle. His first impression was not positive. Everything in England was melancholy and in decline, as Eça himself explained in a letter to Ramalho Ortigão,[31] in 1875, published in an essay written by Américo Guerreiro de Sousa, entitled "Eça de Queirós e a Inglaterra – uma Relação Ambivalente": "aqui tudo tem spleen, o céu, as almas, as paredes, o lume, os chapéus das mulheres, os discursos dos oradores e os entusiasmos da paixão". (*Apud* Sousa, 2000:27) And he goes on:

> É agora que eu compreendo a profunda verdade dos livros de Taine sobre a Inglaterra. É o clima, é a horrível hostilidade exterior da natureza, é o incessante descontentamento da vida física – que faz com que esta raça viva sempre dentro de si mesma. (*Apud* Sousa, 2000:27)

As Américo Guerreiro de Sousa explained in the same essay, Eça de Queirós's relationship with England and its inhabitants was quite ambiguous. On the one hand, in his literary works, he idealizes England as a model of civilization, on the other, in his private correspondence, he identifies the British as ignorant and xenophobic. He did not like the country – above all the weather – but his dislike grew stronger when he referred to English people. He described them as unable to speak any foreign languages and re-

[31] José Duarte Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915) was a Portuguese writer, teacher and a friend of Eça de Queirós. Also a member of the Geração de 70, Ramalho Ortigão, together with Eça, published *As Farpas* (1871-1882), a monthly satirical periodical defined as a political and social opposition paper. From the end of 1872, Ramalho became the only author of the publication. In his writings he emphasises the didactic aims of his political and social satire without renouncing patriotic values. In addition to his humorous criticism in *As Farpas*, he wrote some travel books, such as *A Holanda* (1885) and *John Bull* (1887), in which he portrayed different cultures and realities. In his works, the image of French and English progress is opposed to that of Portuguese decadence. Ramalho Ortigão saw Portuguese national traditions as one of the main tools for social regeneration.

luctant to consider anything which was different, or 'not English'. As he wrote in the letter "Os Ingleses no Egipto", in the collection *Cartas de Inglaterra* (1905),[32]

> Estranha gente, para quem é fora de dúvida que ninguém pode ser moral sem ler a Bíblia, ser forte sem jogar o críquete e ser gentleman sem ser inglês! E é isto que os torna detestados. Nunca se fundem, nunca se desinglesam. (1905:46)

In Eça's view, the English were not open minded, they did not accept 'foreigners' nor anything they judged to be 'different' from their culture. Due to their prejudices they were highly critical of other peoples' ideas and habits, as the Portuguese author writes regarding the English in Egypt:

> O inglês cai sobre as ideias e as maneiras dos outros como uma massa de granito na água: e ali fica pesando, com a sua Bíblia, os seus clubes, os seus sports, os seus prejuízos, a sua etiqueta, o seu egoísmo – fazendo na circulação da vida alheia um incomodativo tropeço. É por isso que nos países onde vive há séculos é ele ainda o estrangeiro. (1995:47)

The British Empire imposed itself and its culture on the colonies and the English were quite happy to find 'another England' – with its sports, its etiquette, its drinks and its teas – in foreign countries. A sort of transfiguration process took place, transforming colonies into 'little Englands'. The Portuguese author was also really critical of the vanity and superficiality of the English. In the following example he describes women:

> (...) que decotes! Que olhares equívocos! Que atrevimentos! Que maneira de estar sempre a mostrar o pé quando é bonito... E depois que temperamentos! Lembre-se que estas mulheres lêem uma quantidade infinita de romances amorosos; que ricas, tendo o conforto perfeitamente organizado em redor de si não têm cuidados de ménage; que pertencem a uma religião fria que não lhes satisfaz as aspirações de sentimentalidade (...) ("Letter to Ramalho Ortigão", March 1875, *Correspondência*: 118)

[32]*Cartas de Inglaterra* is a collection of letters written by Eça de Queirós during his consular service in England from 1874 to 1888. Divided into twelve chapters, in each of them the Portuguese author expresses his opinions and feelings on England, the English and the British Empire.

What characterized the British in Eça's view – the upper-middle class, that is – was their frivolity, laziness and superficiality. They lived in a society where beauty and wealth were more important than everything else. In the letter "O Inverno em Londres" he describes this society with sharp irony:

> Nenhum g*entleman* que se respeite e queira manter o seu bom nome social ousaria confessar que esteve em Londres em Janeiro: correria o risco de ser tomado por um tendeiro, ou, pior, por um filósofo, um poeta, um desses seres rastejantes, vis como o lixo, sem castelo e sem matilha de cães, que nenhuma *lady* quereria ter no seu "rol de visitas". (Queirós, 1905:10)

It was a 'Vanity Fair', where people moved like actors on a stage to the rhythm of *clichés* and classical music:

> (...) De gardénia na casaca e pérola negra na camisa, estendidos para o fundo do sofá, derreados, meio adormentados pelo *Nocturno* de Chopin que um anjo louro preludia ao fundo da sala, são tão inúteis para a *flirtation*,o espírito, a intriga, o amor, como se fossem empalhados.Debalde as pobres damas fizeram uma *toilette* de duzentas libras: debalde resplandecem às mil luzes de cera os seus ombros de deusas. De nada vale. O *gentleman* anseia por deixar a sala, ir reconfortar-se com o seu *brandy and soda,* estirar aqueles membros que a raposa cansou em lençóis bem perfumados e bem *bassinés,* e ressonar forte.
> Esta situação era intolerável. (Queirós, 1905:12)

Eça's relationship with England was not merely critical, however. In fact, he was aware that English society had reached a high level of cultural, scientific and economic development, which he admired. He never questioned the supremacy of England in these fields over other European countries, as he writes in a letter about the inferiority of France:

> A Ciência aí está vivendo da ideia da evolução – que para lá exportou o Darwin que é inglês. A filosofia aí está vivendo das ideias que para lá exportou o Herbert Spencer, que é inglês. A política está vivendo da ideia do Oportunismo que para lá exportou a Inglaterra. Daudet é um discípulo de Dickens. O naturalismo na pintura, sobretudo na paisagem, outra exportação inglesa. (...) O papel não chega mais: mas podia encher assim folhas. Eu detesto a Inglaterra, mas isso não impede que ela seja, como nação pensante, talvez a primeira. (Queirós, 7 June 1885, *Correspondência*: 327)

As Teresa Pinto Coelho explains in the first chapter of her book *Eça de Queirós and the Victorian Press*,Eça was fascinated by the cultural and intellectual life of England and above all by English literature. Proof of his profound appreciation can be found in his personal library where he had many English works by Charles Dickens, Alfred Tennyson, Thomas Hardy, Rider Haggard and others. (2014: 16) Quoting Eça's words in a letter to Mariano Pina,[33] English literature was "a literature of incomparable nobility and originality". (*Apud* Coelho, 2014:16) He admired the innovative English press, and shaped the reviews and magazines he edited, on the model of English periodicals. Eça's attraction for British periodicals was profound and while he was living in Paris, he subscribed a variety of English newspapers, magazines and reviews, to catch up with the political, social and cultural news. (2014:6) One of the most important periodicals published by Eça was the *Revista de Portugal* (1888-1892), which depicted the Portuguese political, social and cultural situation at the end of the nineteenth century. (Bueno, 2004:1)

In fact, Eça de Queirós had an ambivalent 'love-hate' relationship with England. On the one hand, in *Cartas de Inglaterra*, he disapproved of the way England, as an imperialistic power, treated its colonies, with no respect for foreign cultures, and he disliked the materialistic and superficial behaviour of the British. But, on the other hand, he was fascinated by the originality and innovation of English thought, by its cultural development and by its literature.

Edgar Prestage and Eça de Queirós were two very different personalities. The former was a devoted Catholic, the latter criticized the Church; one was a Monarchist, the other believed in a democratic and Republican society; one loved Portugal, the other hated England, but loved its literature. So the question is: why did Prestage decide to translate the Portuguese author's works? What links these two virtually opposing figures?

As already discussed, Edgar Prestage's aim was to reveal the best of Portuguese literature to English readers. This statement *per se* could answer the question "Why Eça de Queirós?" Prestage's words in the preface to *The Sweet Miracle* show how important the Portuguese author was to him:

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[33] A progressive intellectual and journalist, Mariano Pina (1869-1899) worked in Lisbon for *Diário do Comercio*, *Diário da Manhã*, *Diário Popular* and *Espectro*. In 1884 he moved to Paris as a correspondent of *Gazeta de Notícias* from Rio de Janeiro. During his life time he took an active part in different literary circles.

> Eça de Queirós is undoubtedly Portugal's greatest prose-writer of the last half of the nineteenth century. He is known to us mainly by that splendid romance *Cousin Basil*, but the correspondence of Fradique Mendes reveals a versatility of talent in this humorist and critique of life which even the greatest novelists have lacked. (1904:3)

According to Prestage, the problem was that the British translated very little of the best of foreign literature:[34]

> I would say that only a lack of acquaintance with the literature – excusable enough, seeing that it is written in a little known language, that translations are lacking, and that no modern account of it exists in English – can explain why men like Gil Vicente (...) and Eça de Queirós (inter alios) have failed to receive the honourthey deserve and actually enjoy outside England. (*Portuguese Literature*, 1909:9)

It was the British disregard for Portuguese literature which motivated Prestage to pursue a career as a translator andto publicise Portuguese works in England.

As Itamar Even-Zohar explained with his Polysystem Theory, translations must be seen from a comprehensive perspective and analysed according to the position they occupy in a particular literary system. Even-Zohar believes that translations can either occupy a central or peripheral position, depending on the characteristics of the systems involved. If translations assume a central position, they can be a source of new ideas and inspiration for the writers of a certain target culture; but, on the contrary, if they exercise a peripheral role, they will not be able to influence the target system. When the source text comes from a peripheral system and it is translated into a central one, the translators tend to domesticate the text in order to correspond to the norms and tastes of the target culture. (Even-Zohar, 1979:287-310). That is what happened in the case of Prestage's translations of the work of the Portuguese author.

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[34]According to Patricia Odber de Baubeta, in her essay "Portuguese Literature in English Translation", books on histories of Portuguese literature are unfortunately really rare, mainly because they do not attract a large number of readers. The same happens in the case of English translations of Portuguese literature which have always been few in number due both to the lack Portuguese speakersand also to the number of readers potentially interested in Porruguese writing. Nevertheless, as Odber de Baubeta states, "Portuguese literature is neither invisible nor absent from the international landscape. We just need to look for it more attentively". (2009:213) At the beginning of the twentieth century, closer attention was given by English readers to the Portuguese writers of the Geração de 70, among which Eça de Queirós, even if such translations have been criticized for their lack of accuracy and faithfulness to the original text. (2009: 202-213)

When Prestage decided to translate Eça de Queirós, he was motivated by the lack of interestof the British (a central system) for the Portuguese author (from a peripheral system) whom he considered to be exceptional. He did this with the aim of publicising Portuguese literature in England, but he knew that his translations would certainly occupy a peripheral position in the English literary system. To get round this difficulty, he was forced to 'anglicize' the translations in order to please the English readers and to place Eça in a central position.

Prestage had a really high opinion of Eça de Queirós, considering him the best Portuguese writer of the moment: "his originality, power and artistic finish unequalled in the contemporary literature of Portugal". (*Pacheco,* 1906: 6) As Abdool Karim Vakil argues in his essay, "Edgar Prestage and Eça de Queirós" (2000), the English translator was fascinated by Eça's stylistic features. As can be seen from Prestage's letters, he thought that the Portuguese novelist was without rival in European literature, especially in the creation of characters. Eça was able to portray all social types, from the aristocrat to the beggar, and he had a profound knowledge of the Portuguese society of his time. Another characteristic of Eça de Queirós which 'enchanted' Prestage was the Celticism and mystic *allure* of his works, which enhanced them still further.

From 1904 to 1908, Prestage published four translations of Queirós' texts: two tales, *O Suave Milagre* and *O Defunto*, a version of the "Carta VIII" from *Correspondência de Fradique Mendes* and"As Festas da Criança"from the eleventh letter of *Cartas de Inglaterra.*

In spite of Prestage's attraction for Eça's work, the relationship between the two writers was quite ambiguous. Although Prestage was fascinated by the Portuguese author and considered him to be one of the most important writers in Portugal, and therefore worthy of being translated, he did not have the same view of all his works. Curiously, it was Prestage's Catholic faith that influenced his approach to the works of Eça de Queirós. As already seen, in 1886, Prestage converted to Catholicism along with his mother. This was a turning point in his life and, subsequently, in his career. (Coelho, 2000:237) From that moment on, his religious feeling became stronger, and influenced his future choices in the literary field. This is the reason why he chose to translate only some of Eça's works, precisely those which, in his view, could become a "manifesto" for Catholicism and which would represent both Christian values and morality. In fact, the English translator was very critical of some of Eça de Queirós' novels about alleged-

ly dubious Christian morality and he did not take them into consideration for translation, as he explained in a letter to his friend Batalha Reis:

> Of course *O Primo Basílio* is greatly superior as a work of art, but it could not be translated in its entirety, and I should not care to act as a censor, and cut out passages here and there. At any rate, I am convinced that no English publisher would dare to issue a full version of it. The same may be said for *A Relíquia* (…). (*Apud* Coelho, 2000:239)

What is quite interesting is that, in some cases, although the novels of Eça de Queirós raised moral and religious problems, Prestage could not help expressing his admiration for them, as he mentioned in another letter referring to the work *A Relíquia:*

> I enjoy it immensely, as a work of art, but how could I as a conscientious Catholic affix my name to an English version. Fancy the scandal (...). There is a great deal of silliness and hypocrisy about the English frame of mind (...), were I Protestant or Agnostic, I would translate the works of Queirós word for word. (*Apud* Coelho, "Letter to Reis", 24 April 1895: 243)

From these words one can understand that the inhibition which prevented Prestage from translating some of the works of Eça de Queirós, was not only his strong Catholic morality but also his fear of English reactions. At the end of the nineteenthcentury, Great Britain was going througha particular period in which the illusion of being the first unrivalled European power was slowly breaking down and during which even the prosperity and 'well-being' linked to the industrial revolution were waning. It was against this backdrop that the most conservative branch of the Catholic Church began to gain new strength.

The growth of Catholic Church in Britain started in the nineteenth century, culminating with the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, where the remaining penal laws were abolished. [35] The Act enabled members of the Catholic Church to gain a seat in Parliament. From that moment on, the number of Catholics increased and as a consequence of this, the number of churches, chapels and Catholic schools tripled all over the country. (Derrik, 2017: 3-4) Among the English aristocratic and intellectual classes, Catholicism continued to grow stronger throughout the first two decades of the twentieth

[35] 'Penal law' refers to a specific serie of laws made by the Church of England to control Catholics in order to limitate their rights and to impose them civil penalties.

century, influencing the growth of the Anglo-Catholic Church. (2017:7) In this atmosphere of religious turmoil, literary works of dubious morality were not well accepted, provoking protests and opposition.

As Vakil suggests in his essay, to better understand the ambiguity of the 'love and hate' relationship between Edgar Prestage and Eça de Queirós, one must refer to an article published in 1918, in *In Memoriam of Eça de Queirós* by Eloi do Amaral and Marta Cardoso.From the very beginning of the article, Prestage reveals his fundamentalist religious character, criticizing the 'philia' that both Portugal and Eça de Queirós had for France: "the influence of France over Portugal has been anti-moral and anti-national whether in the sphere of politics or in that of letters (...) Portugal has lived in almost continual unrest, and has of late been on the verge of anarchy". (*Apud* Cardoso, 1918: 109)

As already analysed in the first chapter of this dissertation, Anglo-Portuguese relations were weaker than ever at the beginning of the twentieth century. The birth of the Portuguese Republic and the Portuguese Law of Separation of Church and State had severely jeopardised relations between the two countries. This situation severely tested the royalist and conservative translator.

Prestage wrote of an immoral and anarchical Portugal in which "the generation to which Eça de Queirós belonged (...) prided itself on its Liberalism in politics and not strict in morality". (*Apud* Cardoso, 1918: 110) Prestage described Eça as a precursor of free thought and moral freedom. According to him, the Portuguese writer's early works reflected this intolerable licentiousness and they spelled 'poison' to the English mind:

> Works that have to be considered as 'for men only' stand self-condemned, for there are not two standards of morality one for each sex. After all we are strangely illogical; the law in most countries forbids the sale of certain poisons without a doctor's certificate, yet it allows a wide margin to publishers of noxious books and prints, though the mind is superior to and more deserving of protection than the body. (1918: 112)

Towards the end of the article, Prestage evolved from a critical and detached approach to Eça's works, to a more positive one. He drew up a list of 'legitimate' works, those written at a more mature stage of Eça's career. In his view the Portuguese author's more 'moral' novels/short stories were the only ones which would be successful in Brit-

ain and thus were worthy of translation. His choice can be analysed be analyzed and understood using the theory of reception developed by Hans Robert Jauss.

The role and function of the reader in the process of literary reception has always been discussed amongst literary critics. In the middle of the twentieth century, Hans Robert Jauss, one of the main contributors to the Reception Theory, published several essays in which he pointed out and emphasized the importance of reader's expectations. As Robert C. Holub explains in the chapter "The Major Theorists", in his book *Reception Theory. A Critical Introduction*, Jauss treated literature as a "dialectical process of production and reception" (2003:53) and literature work as a combination between the text and the reader. One of the most significant notion Jauss introduced was the 'horizon of expectations', as he explained in the article "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory":

> A literary work, even when it appears to be new, does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum, but predisposes its audience to a very specific kind of reception by announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics, or implicit allusions. It awakens memories of that which was already read, brings the reader to a specific emotional attitude, and with its beginning arouses expectations for the 'middle and end', which can then be maintained intact or altered, reoriented, or even fulfilled ironically in the course of the reading according to specific rules of the genre or type of text.(1967:12)

For Jauss the 'horizon of expectations' is a structure that the reader automatically applies in the approach and interpretation of a text, a sort of 'system of references' that a hypothetical individual brings to any text.In approaching a text, the reader is armed with his/her historical and literal background which influences the reception of it. This background raises the reader's horizon of expectations which is the basis for his/her interpretation. Jauss suggests three different approaches towards the construction of the horizon of expectations: the first one is the horizon of literary expectation, which includes the norms and rules of a certain genre; the second one is "the implicit relationships to familiar works of the literary-historical surroundings";(1967:14) and the third one is the horizon of experience, of everyday life, which includes the socio-cultural expectations of an individual or a community.

When readers read a literary work, they are never 'neutral'. Their previous experiences – of life or literature – create certain attitudes and provoke various expectations as far as the development of the work is concerned. This is a dialectic process, it is not

only the reader who approaches the literary works with his/her 'horizon of expectations', but sometimes it is also the author himself – through the choice of the title, the genre, the theme, the language, etc. – who sets the mind frame and expectations of the reader. Prestage's choices of Queirós's works weremade according to the horizon of expectations of his audience, i.e. English readers.

An analysis of Edgar Prestage and Eça de Queirós's relationship reveals a degree of ambiguity. Although Prestage never missed an opportunity to emphasize Eça's greatness and the importance of his works to the literary world, he disapproved of his anticlericalism and critical attitude towards the Monarchy and Society. Prestage and Eça de Queirós'relationship was a 'love-hate' one, where the English translator was fascinated by Eça's style of writing but at the same time disapproved of his ideas. Rejection and attraction were mixed together in the relationship between Eça and Prestage, a relationship which has long fascinated – and still fascinates – scholars all over the world.

This ambiguous relationship between Eça de Queirós and Edgar Prestage is reflected in the English translations, in which Prestage tried to depict the Portuguese author and Portugal according not only to his own perspective and values, but also to the horizon of expectations of the targeted reading public.

4. (Re)Inventing a Country? Images of Portugal in Prestage's Translations of Eça de Queirós

> "Erasmus was wont to affirm that, in his studies,
> he had not found anything more arduous
> than translation, nor a thing worthy
> of greater praise, if well done,nor of
> greater blame, if ill done."
>
> (Damião de Goes, "Introduction" to the Translation
> of Cicero's *De Senectute*, 1538)[36]

As previously discussed, translations contain images with specific meanings, are invariably inspired by a particular aim and purpose and, as such, are never neutral. Edgar Prestage's translations of Eça de Queirós' writing are no exception to this rule.

Two images of Portugal emerge from the translations of *O Suave Milagre*, *O Defunto* and "A Festa das Crianças": Portugal as a Catholic country and Portugal as a Monarchy. The third translation, *Pacheco*, was used as a mean of discrediting the Republican Party.

The first translation of *O Suave Milagre* was published in England in 1904 and was an immediate success. Prestage's translation, although faithful to the structure of the original, is somehow domesticated (to use Venuti's expression)[37] according to the function of the text in the target culture. If compared with the original work it is apparent that, in the translation, religious values are highlighted. In fact, Eça de Queirós' original text expresses a purer form of religion, whilst in the English translation this simplicity is lost. The enthusiastic response of the British public actually led, in subsequent editions, to the reinforcement of the religious and moral image conveyed by *The Sweet Miracle*, as Teresa Pinto Coelho has pointed out. (Coelho, 2000:238)

One edition is of particular significance, a dramatised version of the work which was transformed into a mystery play, with a foreword by the Bishop of Salford:[38]

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[36]The dedication of Goes' version of Cicero's *De Senectute* was quoted by Edgar Prestage in the preface of *Our Lady of the Pillar*, the translation of Eça de Queirós's *O Defunto.*

[37]Cf. Venuti, 1998:67-88

[38]In the nineteenth century, with the gradual abolition of the restrictions on the activities of Catholics, the Roman Church decided to institute Catholic dioceses in England. The Salford Diocese was formed in 1850. The Bishop of Salford to which this note refers to, was Louis Charles Casartelli. He was ap-

> it may be questioned whether we make sufficient use of dramatic composition of this kind for the purpose of edification and instruction (…). In any such revival of the medieval religious stage, the following dramatization of Eça de Queirós' exquisite legend ought to play an important part. (*Apud* Coelho, 2000: 240)

In this edition of *The Sweet Miracle*, the text is compared to that of a medieval miracle play. During the Middle Ages, the purpose of such plays was to educate and convert the members of the audience to Catholic values. A comparison between the translation of *O Suave Milagre* and the originalreveals how Eça's story was turned into a pedagogical text, the purpose of which was to educate the reader in Catholicism. The same religious image is conveyed by Edgar Prestage's other translation, *Our Lady of the Pillar,*which was published in 1908.

In his prefatory note to *The Sweet Miracle*, Edgar Prestage raises the possibility that if it was successful it would lead to the publication of other works by Eça: "other short stories of Eça de Queiroz will follow, if the reception of the present one be favourable". (1904:10) However, only Prestage's translationof *O Defunto* was presented to the English-speaking public. The style and genre are completely different from that of *O Suave Milagre*, but the choice of the title, *Our Lady of the Pillar* is, nonetheless, revealing, in as far as it denotes the same religious sensitivity that had led to the translation of other works by the same author. In the original Portuguese version of the work, the title is *O Defunto*. The change of title in the translation is not a trivial matter. In fact, the title has a very important function in the reception of a work, because it is the first thing that the reader encounters in a book and it is what immediately sets his/her horizon of expectations.

Due to its title, Portuguese readers were guided, right from the opening page of Eça de Queirós' original text, towards the theme of a deceased person or death, and consequently their horizon of expectations was that of a horror story, as the author intended. In the English version, the work takes on a completely different perspective because of its title, *Our Lady of the Pillar*. Thanks to the new title, the reader's expecta-

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pointed Bishop of Salford in 1905 and his term ended in 1925. He taught in St. Bede's College, in Manchester, and he was one of the first bishops in England to encourage the movement called "Catholic Action", which attempted to increase the Catholic influence in the English society.

tions are no longer linked to the idea of death or horror, but to religion. "Our Lady of the Pillar" immediately invokes the image of the Virgin Mary in the mind of the reader, directing his/her expectations towards Catholicism, faith and religion. It is clear even from Prestage's translation of the title, that he wanted to imbue his work with a more religious meaning than the original, once again associating Portugal with the image of a strongly religious and Catholic nation.

Our Lady of the Pillar did not achieve the same success as the first translation, *The Sweet Miracle*, but still received substantially positive reviews. Prestage, himself, offers information on the reception of his translation. In the previously-quoted article *In Memoriam*, he refers to the opinions of certain critics. In a review published in the *St. James Gazette*,[39] for example, the reviewer considered *Our Lady of the Pillar* one of the best stories he had ever read, a "little masterpiece of mysticism and matter-of-fact religious enthusiasm and passion in harmonious combination". (*Apud* Prestage, 1922: 112) Seen from this viewpoint, it becomes apparent that religion is again the key to the interpretation of the story, as in *O Suave Milagre*.

To understand why the religious issue was so important to Prestage, with regard to Portugal, it is necessary to recall what was going on in the nation around 1890, a few years before the publication of the translations. On top of the economic crisis into which the country was plunged, there was also a religious crisis. The anti-clerical Republican Party was determined to introduce a series of reforms to undermine the influence of the Church. Obviously, such intentions were a source of serious concern to Prestage, an inflexible and ultra-conservative Catholic.

In addition to the religious issue, another question emerges from Prestage's translation: that of the Monarchy. It was no coincidence that, at the outset of the twentiethcentury, he chose to translate Eça de Queirós *O Suave Milagre* and *O Defunto*. The Portuguese Monarchy was already entering a period of instability, mainly due to the growing influence of the Republican Party. In *Our Lady of the Pillar*, the image of a Monarchist Portugal is underlined in two ways.

First of all, Prestage's dedicatory: "Dedicated by Permission, to her Majesty D. Amelia, Queen of Portugal", was unequivocal and immediately set the reader's mindframe. Secondly, the date when the story was set, 1474, in the Late Middle Ages, a period which fascinated Prestage, as one can conclude from two studies he published "The

[39]*St. James Gazette* was an evening newspaper published in London from 1880 to 1905.

Royal Power of Portuguese Cortes" and "Chivalry". Prestage believed that real Christian values existed in the Middle Ages, when the only legitimate power was the King. Eça's story is set in this period of ladies and knights in shining armour when the Monarchy was the supreme form of government. The monarchy in Portugal is portrayed more or less explicitly in a favourable way, so that the decision to translate these two stories (rather than others) was very probably inspired by motives of a propagandistic nature.

Edgar Prestage's translations of *O Suave Milagre* and *O Defunto* promote two images of Portugal, a Monarchical and a Catholic one, with two principal objectives in mind. First and foremost, he wished to restore Portugal's image as a Monarchy and a Catholic nation, at a time when both institutions, the Monarchy and the Church, were faltering, whilst at the same time, the texts offered an opportunity to bolster Christian morality in England.

The translation of "Carta VIII – Ao Sr. E. Mollinet" published in *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes*, appeared in England in 1906, the same year as *Our Lady of the Pillar*. Eça de Queirós' work was written in the final decades of the nineteenth century during a troubled period for Portuguese society. Social, political and economic transformations had brought political instability, along with the spread of anti-clerical and anti-monarchical ideas. The critical situation of the country was depicted by Eça through the words of Fradique Mendes, a realistic, though fictional character. Referring to his character, Eça wrote that "Fradique does not exist; he is a creature made up of bits and pieces of my friends." (*Apud* Monteiro, 2016: 46) As George Monteiro notes in his essay "Eça de Queirós' Modern Masterpiece", it can be seen from this statement that Eça denied the existence of a single real-life model for Fradique Mendes, insisting on a mixture of different fictional realities.

The novel is divided into two parts. In the first part, the narrator describes his relationship with Fradique; whilst the second consists of a sequence of letters beginning with the arrival of Fradique Mendes in Angola in May 1868, and ending in August 1900. Eça describes Fradique as a wise, adventurous man, admired by everyone, but tormented by social injustice and the decadence of Portuguese society. Employing his characteristic irony and satire, Queirós reveals the illusions and disillusions of his country to the reader, using his literary character as a guide to his times.

Edgar Prestage chose only to translate letter VIII from the entire novel, with the specific purpose of exposing the falsity and the vacuity of politicians, in line with Eça's

intentions. In Prestage's case, however, this meant Republican politicians, whereas Eça was criticising the vanity of Portuguese political figures in general. Pacheco was considered by everyone as a man who "tinha um imenso talento" (Queirós, 1900: 65) just because one day, during a class, "(…) desdenhando a Sebenta, assegurou que 'o século XIX era um século de progresso e de luz.'" (1900:65) From the earliest days of Pacheco's studies, everyone understood what a great talent he was:

> (…) que, vendo Pacheco sempre pensabundo, já de óculos, austero nos seus passos, com praxistas gordos debaixo do braço, percebia ali um grande espírito que se concentra e se retesa todo em força íntima. Esta geração académica, ao dispersar, levou pelo País, até os mais sertanejos burgos, a notícia do imenso talento de Pacheco. E lá em escuras boticas de Trás-os-Montes, em lojas palreiras de barbeiros do Algarve, se dizia, com respeito, com esperança: -- "Parece que há agora aí um rapaz de imenso talento que se formou, o Pacheco!" (1900:65)

Pacheco had always been overestimated, his fame and glory being based on nothing in particular:

> Pacheco não deu ao seu país nem uma obra, nem uma fundação, nem um livro, nem uma idéia. Todavia, meu caro sr. Mollinet, este talento, que duas gerações tão soberbamente aclamaram, nunca deu, de sua força, uma manifestação positiva, expressa, visível! O talento imenso de Pacheco ficou sempre calado, recolhido, nas profundidades de Pacheco! (...) (1900: 65)

As a consequence of his fame as an intellectual, he gained a seat in Parliament and once again his glory grew thanks to his silences:

> Pacheco pertenceu logo as principais comissões parlamentares. Nunca porém acedeu a relatar um projeto, desdenhoso das especialidades. Apenas às vezes, em silêncio, tomava uma nota lenta. E, quando emergia da sua concentração, espetando o dedo, era para lançar alguma idéia geral sobre a ordem, o progresso, o fomento, a economia. Havia aqui a evidente atitude de um imenso talento que (como segredavam os seus amigos, piscando o olho com finura) "está à espera, lá em cima, a pairar". Pacheco mesmo, de resto, ensinava (esboçando, com a mão gorda, o voar superior de uma asa por sobre o arvoredo copado) que "talento verdadeiro só devia conhecer as coisas *pela rama*". (1900:53)

Pacheco represents the type of politician whose fame and intelligence becomes legendary without doing anything at all. Pacheco's silences were seen as a sign of wisdom; his chubby forefinger was always ready to point somebody out at the right moment; his *clichés* and his high forehead formed the basis of his success as a politician. His character introduces the theme of politics viewed as a comedy in which politicians – instead of doing their duty – play their role as actors on a stage and their appearance becomes more important than their political choices. Through Pacheco and his caricatural framework, the author ironises on the vacuity of the modern politician and on the inability of Portuguese people to understand what is really good for their nation.Seen from this viewpoint and in the historical context of the early twentieth century, Prestage's translation of "Carta VIII – Ao Sr. E. Mollinet" was used to discredit Republican politicians in the eyes of his English readers. If, in previous translations, he tried to depict a Catholic and royalist image of Portugal, in this one he ridicules Portuguese politicians. Quoting his words in the introduction to the translation *Eça de Queiroz and the Correspondence of Fradique Mendes*, "the secret of Pacheco's influence in a country where every man is more or less an orator, lay in the fact that he hardly ever spoke." (1906:8) Moreover, Prestage considered the work *Correspondência de Fradique Mendes* as one of Eça's best works (*Apud* Coelho, 2000:209): "one of these letters is translated here to enable English readers to judge Queiroz as a letter writer and satirist (…)." (1906:8)

The English public welcomed the translation although it did not achieve the same success as the previous ones. Readers especially appreciated Prestage's skill in being able to convey the satirical spirit of the original, (Vakil, 2000:6) as can be deduced from the Conde de Sabugosa's letter of December 28, 1906: "é verdadeiramente notável a felicidade com que conserva as mesmas subtilezas do espirito tão especial de Eça de Queiróz". (*Apud*Vakil, 2000:6)

In the historical context of the early twentieth century, Prestage used this translation to portray Republicans, whom the English reader identifies with Pacheco, in a negative light. At the same time, by choosing to translate this specific letter from Eça's novel, Prestage employed the words of the Portuguese writer to underline the incapacity of the Portuguese people to identify what constituted a good politician. In this way he attempted to discredit the possible choice of a Republican government by the Portuguese electorate.

The last English translation of Eça's work by Prestage is a letter from *Cartas de Inglaterra*, "A Festa das Crianças", published under the title "The Children's Festival"

in the *Manchester University Magazine*, 1909. As already seen in the previous chapter, in *Cartas de Inglaterra*, Eça de Queirós criticises several aspects of English society, above all the vanity of the British and their tendency to domesticate what they consider 'foreign' or different. However, his relationship with English culture is ambiguous. Although he attacks British society, he is fascinated by its intellectual progress and above all its literary world.[40] In "A Festa das Crianças", Eça describes a children's party at the home of Lord Bird, where the children are dressed up as King Arthur's knights and ladies of the Court. Even though he is satirical and ironic in his descriptions, he shows his attraction for English literature and for the world that the British writers had created:

> (…) Era uma mascarada reproduzindo em miniatura acorte de el-rei Artur e dos cavaleiros da Távola Redonda. E o que tornava interessante aressurreição deste mundo heróico e gentil, popularizado por Tennyson, é que nós estávamosali justamente na região de Cornwall, onde viviam, entre saraus e batalhas, Artur, a sua rainhaGuinevera e os doze valentes da Távola. A pouca distância do parque dos Birds, numa colinacoberta de carvalheiras, a tradição coloca os paços de Artur e a maravilhosa e sombria cidadede Caerl. (Queirós, 1905:65)

One can perceive the same feelings in other lines, such as "através da janela lá estavam, como nos versos da*Morte de Artur,* as ruínas do Castelo de Tentival, negro e triste junto do mar de Cornwall". (1905:65)

From the point of view of its form, Prestage's version of "A Festa das Crianças" is different from the other three translations. What usually characterises Prestage's rewriting process is a structural and formal similarity to the source text. In this specific case, he slows down the fast rhythm Eça had achieved by using short sentences and very long paragraphs. In the meanwhile, he maintained an excessively-literal fidelity to the syntax. The result is a loss of the lightness and 'impressionistic touch' of Queirós' text, ending up with a ponderous and more tedious version. In spite of the different

[40]In *Eça de Queirós and the Victorian Press* (2014) Teresa Pinto Coelho's underlines Eça de Queirós' profound knowledge of English literature. During his whole life, he accompanied the development of English Literature, keeping himself up to date with new writers. Indeed, he was familiar with all the latest English authors such as Hardy, Stevenson, Kipling, Haggard and he never missed a chance to refer positively to their work and their literature. (42-44) In "O Francesismo", Eça took a journey into English Literature that he defined "incomparably richer, more alive, more powerful and more original than that of France (…)." (*Apud* Coelho, 2014:14)

style, there is a common thread which unites this translation with the others, thus justifying Prestage's choice. Among all the letters that Prestage could have chosen, he translated the only one in which two images are depicted, the same ones which are present in the other texts he translated: the royalist and the Catholic images.

From the very beginning of "A Children's Festival", the reader is transported into another world, set in the days of King Arthur, in the Medieval times that fascinated Prestage so much: "It was a masquerade in which the court of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table was reproduced in miniature and the resurrection of that heroic and courtly world." (1909:68) He translated the only letter set in the time when the power of the Monarchy was unquestionable and a king reigned supreme over everything and everyone. Additionally, it was the period in which Catholicism was the only religion, quoting his own words from "The Chivalry of Portugal", "(…) we are living in an age, in which men and women all over Europe have different religious creeds or none at all, and image an epoch when there was a Christendom united in belief (…)." (1928:141) This religious image is depicted in the first lines of the translation: "the river where they fished for trout was the ancient Usk, and, from its fresh banks, rose, once upon time, the monastery where, one night, through the window of his cell, Percival's brother saw the cup of the Holy Grail full of the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ". (1909: 68, 1909)

As Richard Barber explains in the introduction to *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief*, the image of the Holy Grail has a strong and powerful Christian connotation. It is associated with the chalice used by Jesus in the last supper, as referred to in the Gospel of Luke: "(…) with the wine in the cup, he [Jesus] said: 'their cup is God's new convening sealed with my blood, which is poured out to you."' (Luke 22.19) Although the Church has never come to terms with the story of the Grail, the chalice itself has become a symbol of Christianity, part of the mystery of religious miracles and source of the greatest quest in the Arthurian world.

The strong religious and royalist image depicted by this text, is the reason which led Prestage to translate this letter rather than any other. Once again his 'choice of translation' is a 'choice of images' with a propagandistic aims: to reinforce the image of Portugal as a Catholic Monarchy.

Beginning with *O Suave Milagre*, passing through *O Defunto* and *Pacheco*, Edgar Prestage's *leitmotif* is his attempt to convey to the English reader an image of a royalist and Catholic Portugal. The final image of "A Children's Festival" brings together

Prestage's beliefs and the purpose of his translations, "(...) and the holy bishop slumbered innocently beside the mystic Queen." (1909:70) Religion and Monarchy are united in the final depiction, the perfect end to the cycle of Edgar Prestage's translations.

Conclusion

An answer can now be given to the questions posed at the beginning of the dissertation: why did Prestage choose to translate Eça de Queirós? Why – among all the works written by the Portuguese author – did he choose *O Suave Milagre*, *O Defunto,* "Carta VIII" and "A Festa das Crianças"? What image of Portugal did he want to convey?

The answers to these questions are, in fact, already present in the pages of Prestage's translations, it is merely a question of closer scrutiny. Prestage's translations appeared at a time when the centuries-old Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was becoming weaker and Portugal was facing political and social changes. At that time, the relationship between the two countries was characterized by a latent climate of tension, especially after the assassination of the Portuguese King and the Proclamation of the Republic. Portugal was trying to escape from England's control, whilst changing from a religious Monarchy into an anti-clerical Republic.

Edgar Prestage's translations were set against this delicate political background and were influenced by it. As a translator Prestage used his works to influence English perceptions of Portugal, shaping its image as he wanted to see it, and wanted England to see it. This is why he emphasised Portugal as a Monarchy and as a religious nation in his portrayal. His choice of the two short stories, *O Suave Milagre* and *O Defunto*,and of the "Carta VIII" and "A Festa das Crianças" was a pondered decision; they were texts in which Catholic morality, religious values and royal power were unmistakable features. Prestage, himself,filtered the Portuguese author through an English lens, choosing to hide one Eça and reveal another.

A translator rewrites a text, he is like a builder who dismantles a building and reconstructs it. He can make a construction that is loyal to the original or change a few bricks. Prestage carefully chose the 'bricks' with which he reconstructed Eça de Queirós's texts, changing them here and there. At the end, the new 'building' may have seemed identical to the first, but it was not. In Prestage's translations something has been cunningly changed to achieve his purpose.

The English translations of Eça de Queirós' works became the means by which Edgar Prestage tried to convey a Monarchist-Catholic image of Portugal, at a time when the nation was heading towards a political and religious revolution. He was a witness to the final events of the Portuguese kingdom, including the assassinationof D. Carlos and his son, as well as D. Manuel II's short reign. Both directly and indirectly, he witnessed the fall of the values in which he so deeply believed, and once he understood the situation, he decided to do something about it. He published those translations which portrayed a Monarchist and Religious country, reinforcing this image of Portugal for the eyes of the public of the target culture, England.

The image of Portugal that Prestage offered was not false but it was a slanted view of reality. He deliberately offered an incomplete picture of the country. He tried to adapt Portugal to himself, to his own, or possibly what he saw as English values.

This distorted depiction of Portugal was perhaps due to Prestage's strong relationship with the country, which was in the process of changing into something in which Prestage no longer felt at ease with. From this point of view, these translations can be seen as a sort of 'anchor' thrown down to halt the flow of change, which, however, was unstoppable.

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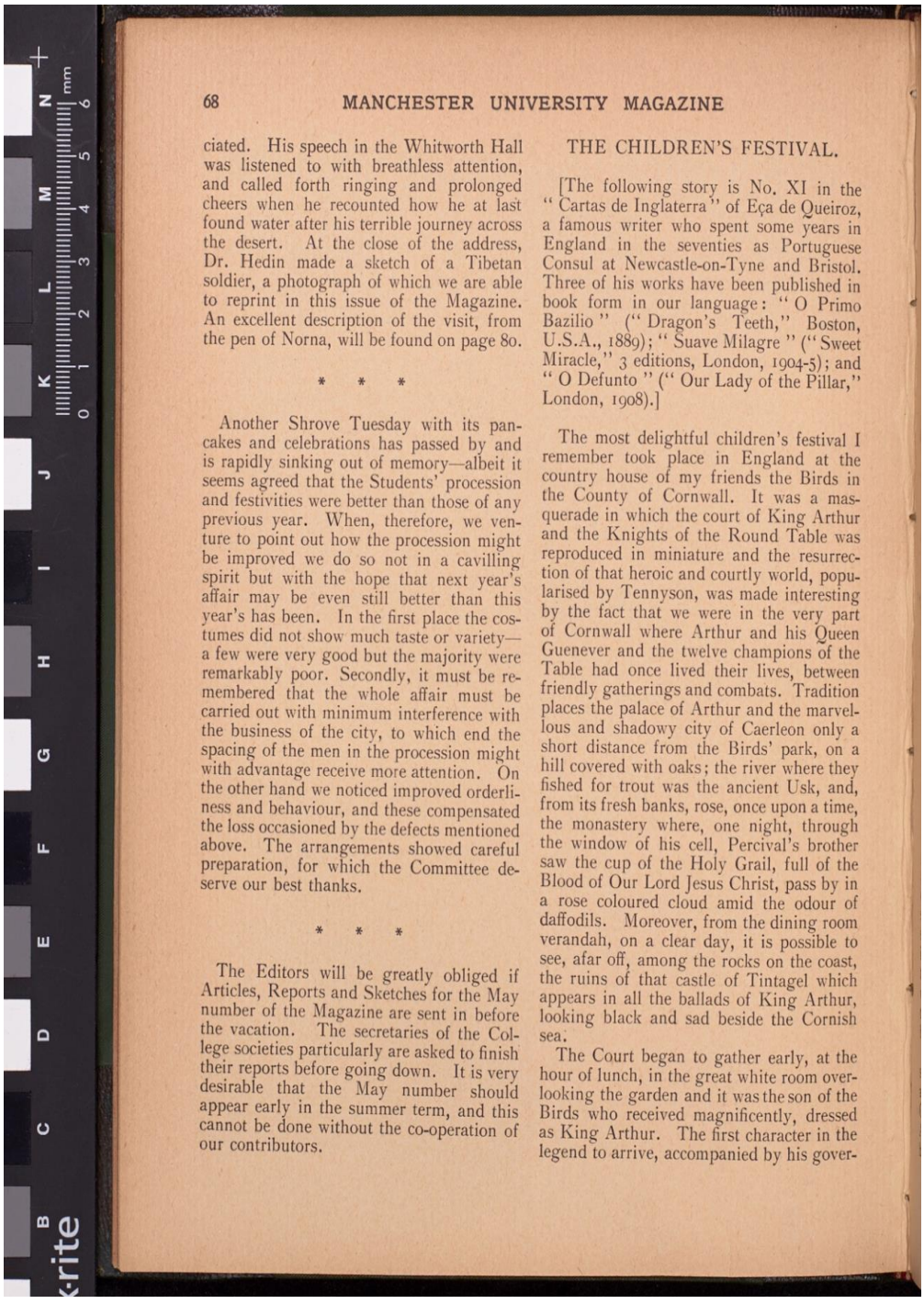
Appendix A)“The Children's Festival”, Edgar Prestage, 1909



ciated. His speech in the Whitworth Hall was listened to with breathless attention, and called forth ringing and prolonged cheers when he recounted how he at last found water after his terrible journey across the desert. At the close of the address, Dr. Hedin made a sketch of a Tibetan soldier, a photograph of which we are able to reprint in this issue of the Magazine. An excellent description of the visit, from the pen of Norna, will be found on page 80.

* * *

Another Shrove Tuesday with its pancakes and celebrations has passed by and is rapidly sinking out of memory—albeit it seems agreed that the Students' procession and festivities were better than those of any previous year. When, therefore, we venture to point out how the procession might be improved we do so not in a cavilling spirit but with the hope that next year's affair may be even still better than this year's has been. In the first place the costumes did not show much taste or variety—a few were very good but the majority were remarkably poor. Secondly, it must be remembered that the whole affair must be carried out with minimum interference with the business of the city, to which end the spacing of the men in the procession might with advantage receive more attention. On the other hand we noticed improved orderliness and behaviour, and these compensated the loss occasioned by the defects mentioned above. The arrangements showed careful preparation, for which the Committee deserve our best thanks.

* * *

The Editors will be greatly obliged if Articles, Reports and Sketches for the May number of the Magazine are sent in before the vacation. The secretaries of the College societies particularly are asked to finish their reports before going down. It is very desirable that the May number should appear early in the summer term, and this cannot be done without the co-operation of our contributors.

THE CHILDREN'S FESTIVAL.

[The following story is No. XI in the “ Cartas de Inglaterra ” of Eça de Queiroz, a famous writer who spent some years in England in the seventies as Portuguese Consul at Newcastle-on-Tyne and Bristol. Three of his works have been published in book form in our language: “ O Primo Bazilio ” (“ Dragon's Teeth,” Boston, U.S.A., 1889); “ Suave Milagre ” (“ Sweet Miracle,” 3 editions, London, 1904-5); and “ O Defunto ” (“ Our Lady of the Pillar,” London, 1908).]

The most delightful children's festival I remember took place in England at the country house of my friends the Birds in the County of Cornwall. It was a masquerade in which the court of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table was reproduced in miniature and the resurrection of that heroic and courtly world, popularised by Tennyson, was made interesting by the fact that we were in the very part of Cornwall where Arthur and his Queen Guenever and the twelve champions of the Table had once lived their lives, between friendly gatherings and combats. Tradition places the palace of Arthur and the marvellous and shadowy city of Caerleon only a short distance from the Birds' park, on a hill covered with oaks; the river where they fished for trout was the ancient Usk, and, from its fresh banks, rose, once upon a time, the monastery where, one night, through the window of his cell, Percival's brother saw the cup of the Holy Grail, full of the Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, pass by in a rose coloured cloud amid the odour of daffodils. Moreover, from the dining room verandah, on a clear day, it is possible to see, afar off, among the rocks on the coast, the ruins of that castle of Tintagel which appears in all the ballads of King Arthur, looking black and sad beside the Cornish sea.

The Court began to gather early, at the hour of lunch, in the great white room overlooking the garden and it was the son of the Birds who received magnificently, dressed as King Arthur. The first character in the legend to arrive, accompanied by his gover-

ness, was the wizard Merlin, an adorable baby, fat and pouting, with an ivy crown, fair hair and an enormous prophetic beard which filled his rosy cheeks. After him, followed by their mammas, all the other old figures of the romantic chronicle made their entrances—five year old knights armed and plumed, sleek little monks, bishops not long weaned, with their pastoral staffs in their arms, peevish bards, silk clad mechanics and fairies prettier than the fairies. Last of all came the three mystic Queens of Walhalla, very grave, hand in hand, covered with black veils, and escorted by a big powdered footman.

Little by little, the big room took on an air of animation, like ancient Caerleon on the morning of a tourney. The small Bird, as King Arthur, with his gold embroidered mantle, and curly hair escaping in ringlets beneath his heavily jewelled crown, paraded majestically among his brothers in arms. A delighted lady tried to give him a kiss, but he repelled her roughly as the chaste King Arthur would have done. None was haughtier than he, except the valiant Lancelot of the Lake, who had a painted downy beard, and dressed in black armour, with a long scarlet plume waving about him from his helmet to his golden spurs, would not take his hand from his sword. And what seemed to give him most pride was a strip of white gauze worn over his cuirass and made, in strict obedience to the epopee, of a veil of Queen Guinever. She was the great beauty of the gathering—this little Irish girl with her two black tresses, and eyes as green as the meadows of Erin. Serious and cold, wrapped in a heavy cloak of blue satin, she sat motionless in the middle of a sofa, with a smile that gave her a dimple, indifferent to the madrigals, insensible to the prowess of the Knights, and always with lowered eyes, whether the bards struck their harps for her, or the vassals fought for her by the Cornish sea.

Presently a squire announced lunch, by sounding a silver horn, just as in Caerleon, and, down the corridor in pairs, the whole Court proceeded to the dining hall of King Arthur, who led the pretty Queen Guinever by the hand with solemn grace.

Afterwards—though not without some confusion, in which the different mammas had to be energetic with the Knights,—the Round Table, adorned with plate and flowers, was complete. Nothing prescribed by the poetical chronicles was lacking to it. There at the end of the table, in a chair carved by the genii, sat the old wonder-worker, Merlin, whose prophetic beard had been removed by his governess, so that he might eat his soup with cleanliness. There was no roast boar on a golden dish, only modest roast beef, but King Arthur lifted his glass of water, mixed with a dash of claret, as nobly as his namesake (so many centuries ago, and on that same hill), had raised his cup of mead on a day of victory. As for the rest, the hall, with its roof of carved oak, had the severe grandeur of other eras, and through the window, as in the verses of the *Morte d'Arthur*, there was the ruined castle of Tintagel, black and sad by the Cornish sea.

The Court displayed as much appetite as if it had returned from a wolf hunt in the woods that adjoin the Usk. Even the fairies were ravenous. Sir Galahad, he who possessed the strength of a thousand because his heart was virgin, had already called out twice for potato pie, beating furiously with his fork on his silver morion, which had been placed at the side of the table between the glasses.

On account of his magnificent tunic of green satin, it had been found necessary to tie a serviette round the neck of Sir Bors, that radiant flower of Christian valour. Amidst all the gaiety, the bold Perceval, who was ill at ease in his armour, remained still and flushed and seemed to be thinking (like another Perceval) of retiring to the monastery of Wik. Later on, all of a sudden and for no apparent reason, he rolled down below the chair, upsetting all the sauce over the knees of the intriguer Modred, the most violent Knight of the Table. Modred thereupon became angry and pulled Perceval's golden hair. The hero's aunt, in a fright, came to the rescue and then, as the famous Lancelot of the Lake was becoming refractory, he was plucked ignominiously from the Round Table and borne away shrieking in the arms of a squire.

After the lunch, the Court of King Arthur returned to the entertainment to amuse itself with dances. What a delightful entertainment! There were two extraordinary monks in white habits, so small, so tottering, that the ladies had to steady them in the quadrilles, yet they would insist on dancing, more jovial than the knights, who were ever ready to throw themselves in the little arms of the peasant girls with the flower-decked heads.

The pure Sir Galahad, who had lost his shield and morion, galloped madly about with a slender fairy arrived that morning from Brittany, from the forests of Broceliande. A bard, whose crown of oakleaves had slipped down to his eyes, wept for the loss of his harp. A prince from the Northern Sea, a chastellain of Erin and the brave knight Bors had taken refuge in a corner behind a sofa and there, seated on the ground, they continued their merry lunch with cakes, and cried out, when the ladies endeavoured to stop a gluttony so unfitting Christian paladins.

In the corridor, Mr. Bird had to hold a plump abbot, who had tucked up his sacerdotal garments and in his fury was about to cudgel the intriguing Knight Modred. It was impossible to realise the most piquant part of the story and get Lancelot of the Lake to pay his court to Guinever. The brave Lancelot (very unlike the other!) seemed to have a hard heart and no taste for ladies' smiles. Nay more, he ended by displaying a bit of ill temper and fell on his mamma's lap with two big tears in his eyelids and his pretty scarlet plume dropped on the ground as after a rout.

The babies began to be tired, early. I myself in the middle of the entertainment, had to take in my arms the venerable Bishop of Blackburn with his mitre and rich staff. His sweet little eyes were dozing with sleep. I laid him down on the sofa, near the smallest of the Queens of Walhalla, who was already sleeping there under her black veil, with her golden hair let loose and the Paradise lily between her crossed little hands. And the holy bishop slumbered, innocently, beside the mystic Queen.

EDGAR PRESTAGE.

(For the two following articles on "The University and Journalism" and "Journalism," thanks are due to the Editor of *Alma Mater*, by whose courteous permission we are enabled to reprint them here).

THE UNIVERSITY AND JOURNALISM.

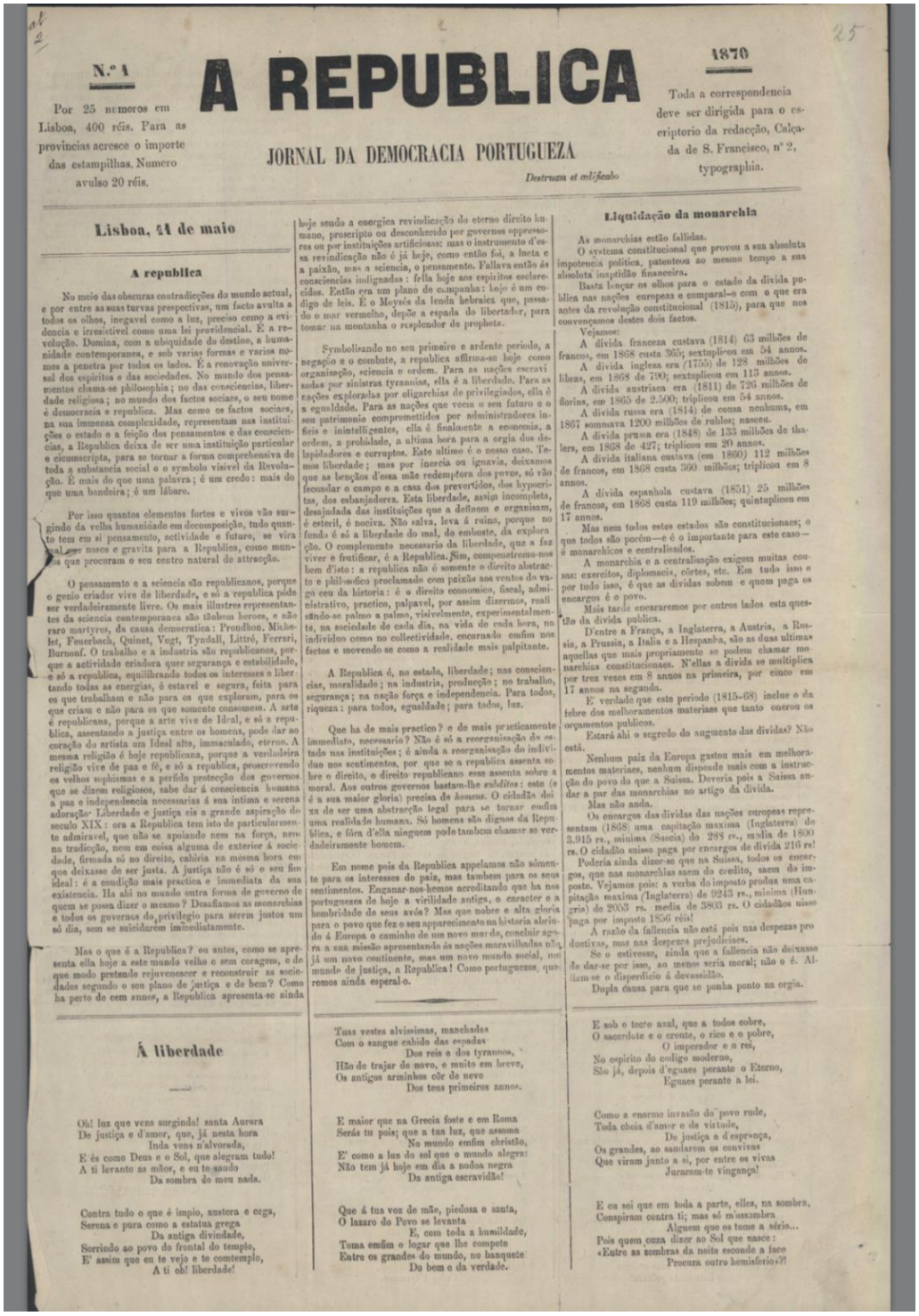
By SIR HUGH GILZEAN-REID, LL.D., F.J.I.

The Newspaper Press has made enormous progress in appliances and expansion within the past twenty-five or thirty years, and even during the decade just closed. But it is only recently that the special education and organisation of journalists have received adequate attention. The work began in this country with the establishment of the Institute of Journalists, which in 1890 secured a Royal Charter of Incorporation, giving powers akin to those of the ancient Universities, including the recognition and enforcement of professional rights; a standard of examination in literary and expert knowledge; the granting of diplomas; and the privilege—first secured by the Institute—of establishing branches or "Districts" throughout the British dominions. Lord Rosebery, referring to the latter point, once said that "whilst statesmen had been talking Imperial Federation into the air, the journalists had gone and done it."

Some other countries followed in gradual succession. There came the International Press Congress, founded in 1894, and the World's Press Parliament (U.S.A.), in 1904. In the founding of all these institutions it was my privilege to take a leading part, and I can testify that, even in the few intervening years, much has been accomplished in raising the professional status, and improving the conditions under which the working journalist performs his duties.

More recently still, the higher education of Journalists has been taken in hand with enlightened interest and systematic vigour. It has been realised that journalism, with all its commanding influence, had in some respects stagnated. Theology, medicine, law, art, and other professions have long claimed of their votaries University or equally advanced training and qualification,

Appendix B)*A Republica. Jornal da Democracia Portuguesa*, 1870



N.º 1

Por 25 numeros em Lisboa, 400 réis. Para as provincias acresce o importe das estampilhas. Numero avulso 20 réis.

A REPUBLICA

JORNAL DA DEMOCRACIA PORTUGUEZA

Destruam et ædificabo

1870

Toda a correspondencia deve ser dirigida para o escriptorio da redacção, Calçada de S. Francisco, nº 2, typographia.

Lisboa, 11 de maio

A republica

No meio das obscuras contradicções do mundo actual, e por entre as suas turvas prespectivas, um facto avulta a todos os olhos, inegavel como a luz, preciso como a evidencia e irresistivel como uma lei providencial. É a revolução. Domina, com a ubiquidade do destino, a humanidade contemporanea, e sob varias formas e varios nomes a penetra por todos os lados. É a renovação universal dos espiritos e das sociedades. No mundo dos pensamentos chama-se philosophia; no das consciencias, liberdade religiosa; no mundo dos factos sociaes, o seu nome é democracia e republica. Mas como os factos sociaes, na sua immensa complexidade, representam nas instituições o estado e a feição dos pensamentos e das consciencias, a Republica deixa de ser uma instituição particular e circumscripta, para se tornar a forma comprehensiva de toda a substancia social e o symbolo visivel da Revolução. É mais do que uma palavra; é um credo: mais do que uma bandeira; é um labaro.

Por isso quantos elementos fortes e vivos vão surgindo da velha humanidade em decomposição, tudo quanto tem em si pensamento, actividade e futuro, se vira [illegible] nasce e gravita para a Republica, como mundos que procuram o seu centro natural de attracção.

O pensamento e a sciencia são republicanos, porque o genio criador vive de liberdade, e só a republica póde ser verdadeiramente livre. Os mais illustres representantes da sciencia contemporanea são tambem heroes, e não raro martyres, da causa democratica: Proudhon, Michelet, Feuerbach, Quinet, Vogt, Tyndall, Littré, Ferrari, Burnouf. O trabalho e a industria são republicanos, porque a actividade criadora quer segurança e estabilidade, e só a republica, equilibrando todos os interesses e libertando todas as energias, é estavel e segura, feita para os que trabalham e não para os que exploram, para os que criam e não para os que somente consomem. A arte é republicana, porque a arte vive de Ideal, e só a republica, assentando a justiça entre os homens, pode dar ao coração do artista um ideal alto, immaculado, eterno. A mesma religião é hoje republicana, porque a verdadeira religião vive de paz e fé, e só a republica, proscrevendo os velhos sophismas e a perfida protecção dos governos que se dizem religiosos, sabe dar á consciencia humana a paz e independencia necessarias á sua intima e serena adoração. Liberdade e justiça eis a grande aspiração do seculo XIX: ora a Republica tem isto de particularmente admiravel, que não se apoiando nem na força, nem na tradição, nem em coisa alguma de exterior á sociedade, firmada só no direito, cahiria na mesma hora em que deixasse de ser justa. A justiça não é só o seu fim ideal: é a condição mais pratica e immediata da sua existencia. Ha ahi no mundo outra forma de governo de quem se possa dizer o mesmo? Desafiamos as monarchias e todos os governos de privilegio para serem justos um só dia, sem se suicidarem immediatamente.

Mas o que é a Republica? ou antes, como se apresenta ella hoje a este mundo velho e sem coragem, e de que modo pretende rejuvenescer e reconstruir as sociedades segundo o seu plano de justiça e de bem? Como ha perto de cem annos, a Republica apresenta-se ainda hoje sendo a energica revindicação do eterno direito humano, proscripto ou desconhecido por governos opressores ou por instituições artificiosas: mas o instrumento d'esses governos e instituições não é já hoje, como então foi, a lucta e a paixão, mas a sciencia, o pensamento. Fallava então ás consciencias indignadas: falla hoje aos espiritos esclarecidos. Então era um plano de campanha: hoje é um codigo de leis. E o Moysés da lenda hebraica que, passado o mar vermelho, depõe a espada do libertador, para tomar na montanha o resplendor de propheta.

Symbolisando no seu primeiro e ardente periodo, a negação e o combate, a republica affirma-se hoje como organisação, sciencia e ordem. Para as nações escravisadas por sinistras tyrannias, ella é a liberdade. Para as nações exploradas por oligarchias de privilegiados, ella é a egualdade. Para as nações que veem o seu futuro e o seu patrimonio compromettidos por administradores infieis e inintelligentes, ella é finalmente a economia, a ordem, a probidade, a ultima hora para a orgia dos delapidadores e corruptos. Este ultimo é o nosso caso. Temos liberdade; mas por inercia ou ignavia, deixamos que as bençãos d'essa mãe redemptora dos povos, só vão fecundar o campo e a casa dos prevertidos, dos hypocritas, dos esbanjadores. Esta liberdade, assim incompleta, desajudada das instituições que a definem e organisam, é esteril, é nociva. Não salva, leva á ruina, porque no fundo é só a liberdade do mal, do emboste, da explora ção. O complemento necessario da liberdade, que a faz viver e frutificar, é a Republica. Sim, compenetremo-nos bem d'isto: a republica não é somente o direito abstracto e philosophico proclamado com paixão aos ventos da vaga ceu da historia: é o direito economico, fiscal, administrativo, practico, palpavel, por assim dizermos, realisando-se palmo a palmo, visivelmente, experimentalmente, na sociedade de cada dia, na vida de cada hora, no individuo como no collectividade, encarnado emfim nos factos e movendo se como a realidade mais palpitante.

A Republica é, no estado, liberdade; nas consciencias, moralidade; na industria, producção; no trabalho, segurança; na nação força e independencia. Para todos, riqueza: para todos, egualdade; para todos, luz.

Que ha de mais practico? e de mais praticamente immediato, necessario? Não é só a reorganisação do estado nas instituições; é ainda a reorganisação do individuo nos sentimentos, por que se a republica assenta sobre o direito, o direito republicano esse assenta sobre a moral. Aos outros governos bastam-lhe *subditos*: este (e é a sua maior gloria) precisa de *homens*. O cidadão deixa de ser uma abstracção legal para se tornar emfim uma realidade humana. Só homens são dignos da Republica, e fóra d'ella ninguem pode tambem chamar se verdadeiramente homem.

Em nome pois da Republica appelamos não sómente para os interesses do paiz, mas tambem para os seus sentimentos. Enganar-nos-hemos acreditando que ha nos portuguezes de hoje a virilidade antiga, o caracter e a hombridade de seus avós? Mas que nobre e alta gloria para o povo que fez o seu apparecimento na historia abrindo á Europa o caminho de um novo mar do, concluir agora a sua missão apresentando ás nações maravilhadas não já um novo continente, mas um novo mundo social, um mundo de justiça, a Republica! Como portuguezes, queremos ainda esperal-o.

Á liberdade

Oh! luz que vens surgindo! santa Aurora
De justiça e d'amor, que, já nesta hora
Inda vens n'alvorada,
E és como Deus e o Sol, que alegram tudo!
A ti levante as mãos, e eu te saudo
Da sombra do meu nada.

Contra tudo o que é impio, austero e cego,
Serena e pura como a estatua grega
Da antiga divindade,
Sorrindo ao povo do frontal do templo,
E' assim que eu te vejo e te contemplo,
A ti oh! liberdade!

Tuas vestes alvissimas, manchadas
Com o sangue cahido das espadas
Dos reis e dos tyrannos,
Hão de trajar de novo, e muito em breve,
Os antigos arminhos côr de neve
Dos teus primeiros annos.

E maior que na Grecia foste e em Roma
Serás tu pois; que a tua luz, que assoma
No mundo emfim christão,
E' como a luz do sol que o mundo alegra:
Não tem já hoje em dia a nodoa negra
Da antiga escravidão!

Que á tua voz de mãe, piedosa e santa,
O lazaro do Povo se levanta
E, com toda a humildade,
Toma emfim o logar que lhe compete
Entre os grandes do mundo, no banquete
Do bem e da verdade.

E sob o tecto azul, que a todos cobre,
O sacerdote e o crente, o rico e o pobre,
O imperador e o rei,
No espirito do codigo moderno,
São já, depois d'eguaes perante o Eterno,
Eguaes perante a lei.

Como a enorme invasão do povo rude,
Toda cheia d'amor e de virtude,
De justiça e d'esperança,
Os grandes, ao saudarem os convivas
Que viram junto a si, por entre os vivas
Juraram-te vingança!

E eu sei que em toda a parte, ellas, na sombra,
Conspiram contra ti; mas só m'assombra
Alguem que os tome a sério...
Pois quem ouza dizer ao Sol que nasce:
«Entre as sombras da noite esconde a face
Procura outro hemisferio»?!

Liquidação da monarchia

As monarchias estão fallidas.

O systema constitucional que provou a sua absoluta impotencia politica, patenteou ao mesmo tempo a sua absoluta inaptidão financeira.

Basta lançar os olhos para o estado da divida publica nas nações europeas e comparal-o com o que era antes da revolução constitucional (1815), para que nos convençamos destes dois factos.

Vejamos:

A divida franceza custava (1814) 63 milhões de francos, em 1868 custa 365; sextuplicou em 54 annos.

A divida ingleza era (1755) de 128 milhões de libras, em 1868 de 700; sextuplicou em 113 annos.

A divida austriaca era (1811) de 726 milhões de florins, em 1865 de 2.500; triplicou em 54 annos.

A divida russa era (1814) de cousa nenhuma, em 1867 sommava 1200 milhões de rublos; nasceu.

A divida prussa era (1848) de 133 milhões de thalers, em 1868 de 427; triplicou em 20 annos.

A divida italiana custava (em 1860) 112 milhões de francos, em 1868 custa 900 milhões; triplicou em 8 annos.

A divida espanhola custava (1851) 25 milhões de francos, em 1868 custa 119 milhões; quintuplicou em 17 annos.

Mas nem todos estes estados são constitucionaes; o que todos são porém—e é o importante para este caso—é monarchicos e centralisados.

A monarchia e a centralisação exigem muitas cousas: exercitos, diplomacia, côrtes, etc. Em tudo isso e por tudo isso, é que as dividas sobem e quem paga os encargos é o povo.

Mais tarde encararemos por outros lados esta questão da divida publica.

D'entre a França, a Inglaterra, a Austria, a Russia, a Prussia, a Italia e a Hespanha, são as duas ultimas aquellas que mais propriamente se podem chamar monarchias constitucionaes. N'ellas a divida se multiplica por trez vezes em 8 annos na primeira, por cinco em 17 annos na segunda.

E' verdade que este periodo (1815-68) inclue o da febre dos melhoramentos materiaes que tanto onerou os orçamentos publicos.

Estará ahi o segredo do augmento das dividas? Não está.

Nenhum paiz da Europa gastou mais em melhoramentos materiaes, nenhum dispende mais com a instrucção do povo do que a Suissa. Deveria pois a Suissa andar a par das monarchias no artigo da divida.

Mas não anda.

Os encargos das dividas das nações europeas representam (1868) uma capitação maxima (Inglaterra) de 3.915 rs., minima (Suecia) de 288 rs., media de 1800 rs. O cidadão suisso paga por encargos de divida 216 rs!

Poderia ainda dizer-se que na Suissa, todos os encargos, que nas monarchias saem do credito, saem do imposto. Vejamos pois: a verba do imposto produz uma capitação maxima (Inglaterra) de 9245 rs., minima (Hungria) de 2053 rs. media de 3803 rs. O cidadão suisso paga por imposto 1856 réis!

A razão da fallencia não está pois nas despezas productivas, mas nas despezas prejudiciaes.

Se o estivesse, ainda que a fallencia não deixasse de dar-se por isso, ao menos seria moral; não o é. Allia-se o disperdicio á devassidão.

Dupla causa para que se ponha ponto na orgia.